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SMALL FOOD STORES IN METROPOLITAN VICTORIA

by

© NORMAN ALAN COOK

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled Small Food Stores in Metropolitan Victoria submitted by Norman Alan Cook in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

The objectives of this thesis are rooted in the urgent need to understand the progress being made and the changes taking place in our urban environment. Although corner stores in some respects are used as a tool towards the attainment of this objective conclusions regarding their future in Victoria are also reached. In attaining these objectives the corner store is defined, the historical development of the food store pattern is traced, the form and function and the place of corner shops in the community are examined.

Corner shops are still in existence because of the convenience function which they perform. They are, however, in a period of stagnation which will continue with time. The shops will last only as long as the buildings which contain them and this time span will be reduced further by renewal. The decline of corner shops is indicative of overall changes in cities which are taking place but which have not yet been demonstrated as advantageous. Until planners and other government officials know what people want then the changes taking place, including the stagnation and ultimate disappearance of corner shops, must be regarded as suspect.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have given me their assistance during the past year. Here in Edmonton, to my supervisor, Professor D. B. Johnson, thanks are due for allowing me to pursue my own thoughts and for forcing me to think more deeply than I perhaps otherwise would have done. His criticism of my work was always thought provoking and very constructive as was the interest he demonstrated in my thesis. To Dr. P. J. Smith I am also indebted for his continued interest in my work. I am also grateful to Mr. Jack Chesterman for his fine photographic and map reproduction work and to Mrs. S. Kucharyshyn and Miss J. Wilson for the service I received in having my typeset work completed. Mrs. B. W. Reesor did a very competent job in typing the final draft of this thesis as did my wife Beverley in her typing of the several preliminary drafts.

In Victoria during the course of my field research in the summer of 1968 the various planning and municipal bodies gave me invaluable help. Particular mention should be made of Mr. John Northey, Capital Region Planning Board, Mr. C. Wakelin, Community Development Department, City of Victoria and of Saanich planning officials. Mr. J. Bramley and Mr. R. H. Wooten of Victoria and Saanich

respectively were also very patient in providing assistance by mail. Also, to the cooperative store operators and to the respondents of my residential questionnaire I must offer my thanks. Dr. B. H. Farrell, Chairman, Department of Geography, University of Victoria, was also very kind in providing me with office space for the duration of my field research in Victoria. To my wife and family I shall always be grateful for their constant encouragement, help and enthusiasm during the preparation of my thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

New planning concepts and a changing way of life are causing significant alterations in the urban landscapes of North American cities. In a machine age dominated by efficiency there appears to be no place for the old, the ugly, and the inefficient despite their potential contribution to society. Corner stores have been considered on just these grounds. They are old, in many cases inefficient, and frequently aesthetically displeasing, but certainly they should not be barred from cities because of these factors alone. In this respect, decisions to exclude the corner store function from cities are being based not on accurate data collected from thorough field investigation, but rather on the basis of the whims of people who view the small store as an obstacle to the attainment of a ". . . right and balanced allocation of land between rival claimants" (Stamp, 1960, p. 65). The potential intangible values of corner stores to society (such as their sociological benefits) are not easily measurable, and are therefore not considered by most planning departments.

To penetrate more deeply into the problem the corner store is symbolic of an old way of life. It is symbolic

certainly of the large city but also of a more friendly, a more relaxed city. The corner store is symbolic of a lack of mobility, of leisurely walks, of friendly chats and of closer interpersonal relations. It is symbolic of a time when grocery shopping was a pleasure and when parking was not a problem. The small food store then, typifies a kind of city which some of us never knew and which most cannot remember - a city of the past whose remnants can be seen in older sections of modern metropolises. This indeed is the heart of the problem. Corner stores exist in a society which is doing almost everything in its power to erase them from the landscape. They are attempting to survive in the face of theories of development which are aimed at excluding them. However, the planner, who zones them out of residential areas, still stops at a corner store on his way home from work, or later in the evening to buy a package of cigarettes or a loaf of bread. In fact, people still use them - obvious proof is their continued existence. The need then, is to examine the nature of corner store development in the light of progress and change and their effect on our total urban environment. Progress and change are both vital parts of our society but perhaps technology has progressed to the stage where it is having a harmful effect on people. It is hoped that by examining small food stores from a geographical point of view that some light will be shed on the

future of corner stores in our cities and on the present direction and current needs of our urban environment.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Corner stores represent a sadly neglected field in urban studies, not only in North America but also abroad. This, in spite of the fact that retailing is one of the best documented fields of urban geography - particularly in North America. Simmons (1967) gives us proof of this with respect to Canada when he notes the commercial structure of cities has been given more attention by urban geographers than any other urban activity in Canada. Nothing, however, has been written on corner stores. The same conditions so far as geography is concerned apply to the United States. In this instance, chain stores, both independent and voluntary, have been researched in considerable depth. Cohen (1961) provides an example. Even specialty shops other than those selling food have been studied, but once again, only passing reference has been made to corner stores.

Non-geographical studies concerning food stores in the United States have been carried out both by government agencies and by private groups and individuals. It should be emphasized that these studies are not specifically related to corner stores but rather refer to food stores and small businesses in general. Studies written and published under the

auspices of the United States Federal Government have been mainly for the purpose of informing prospective owners about the operations of grocery stores. Establishing and Operating a Grocery Store by Nelson Miller et al. (1946), published under the sponsorship of the United States Department of Commerce is prominent among these studies. Such writing was popular during and immediately after the war because of the interest in this type of retailing at the time.

Small business in general has been well documented in the fields of commerce and marketing. Such writing has application to food stores but does not refer specifically to them. McKean's The Persistence of Small Business (1958) and Lasser's How to Run a Small Business (1955) are among the more useful of these studies.

There has been more research done in Britain than in any other country on small corner shops. Levy's book, The Shops of Britain (1947), McClelland's Studies in Retailing (1963) and Burn's British Shopping Centres (1959) are perhaps the best examples. And yet, these books refer to corner shops only as part of a larger situation.

General studies of retail structure are much more abundant. Although corner shops are seldom discussed these theoretical studies of commercial structure provided a starting point from which it was possible to begin the field work for this paper. They provide the theoretical framework for

the present research. Most noted among these are Berry's Commercial Structure and Commercial Blight (1966), Simmon's The Changing Pattern of Retail Location (1964) and Proudfoot's old, but useful article, "City Retail Structure" (1937). Still on a general basis, but from the standpoint of shopping itself, Davis' book A History of Shopping (1966-b) provided some useful comments on the development of store types and shopper attitudes. Finally, and related to Victoria, the specific city chosen to exemplify the development of corner stores, Wright's M. A. Thesis entitled The Settlement of the Victoria Region, British Columbia (1956) was very useful in correlating the development of the food store pattern in Victoria with the historical development of the City itself.

OBJECTIVES

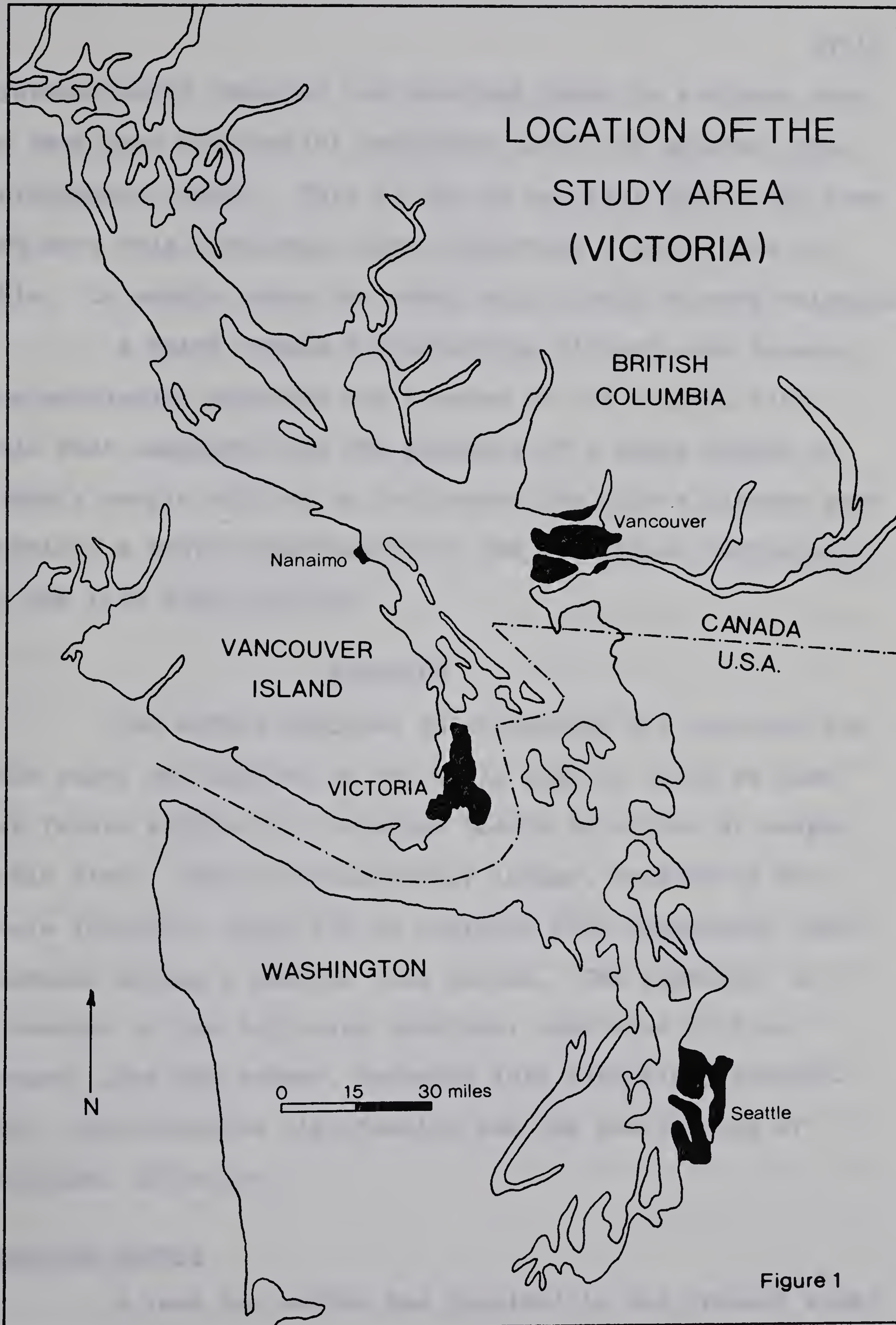
It has already been indicated that the objectives of this paper are rooted in the urgent need to understand the progress being made and the changes taking place in our urban environment. Although corner stores are being used in some respects as a tool towards the attainment of this objective, conclusions regarding their future will be reached. In order to determine the future of corner stores five secondary objectives have been formulated. They are to trace the historical development of the food store pattern in Victoria,

to classify food stores in general and to define the corner store, to examine the form and function of corner stores, and to examine the place of corner stores in the community particularly in respect of modern planning principles. On the basis of conclusions drawn from the attainment of each of these five objectives it will be possible to draw some conclusions about the future of corner stores. Upon subsequent extension of these conclusions some insights into the general nature of the progress and change taking place in and the needs of our urban environment should be possible.

SELECTION OF THE STUDY AREA

To achieve the above objectives it was necessary to select an urban area for investigation. Metropolitan Victoria, situated in southwestern British Columbia on the southern tip of Vancouver Island (Figure 1) was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, the selection of a metropolitan area of moderate size made possible a more thorough investigation and enabled a better understanding of the problem. Metropolitan Victoria, with its 173,455 people, is large enough to provide an adequate base for the study, and yet not too large to prevent an adequate grasp of the problem.

A second reason for selecting Victoria was because of my previous knowledge of the area. In a study such as this where one element of the urban landscape is being


LOCATION OF THE
STUDY AREA
(VICTORIA)
BRITISH
COLUMBIA
Vancouver
Nanaimo
CANADA
U.S.A.
VANCOUVER
ISLAND
VICTORIA
WASHINGTON
N
0
15
30 miles
Seattle
Figure 1

systematically isolated and examined there is a strong need to have some substantial knowledge about the general urban environment itself. This is not to say that anyone who does not have this knowledge cannot undertake a study such as this. It merely means the study will likely be more valuable.

A third reason for selecting Victoria was because the provincial archives are located in the capital City. This fact combined with the presence of a large number of elderly people willing to talk about the City's history made possible a better examination of the historical development of the food store pattern.

APPROACH

The method employed in conducting the research for this paper was devised on the basis that it could be used for future studies of a similar nature in cities of comparable size. Cities significantly larger, because of the scale involved, could not be analyzed with comparable thoroughness during a similar time period. The approach, as discussed in the following sections, consisted of four stages: land use survey, research into historical development, questionnaire distribution and the questioning of municipal officials.

Land Use Survey

A land use survey was required in the present study

for three basic reasons. First, to relate the location of food stores to other functional uses of the land. Second, to assist in explaining the present distribution of food stores. Third, to provide a better field knowledge of the area. The land use survey was conducted before other field work because of its usefulness in providing a base for subsequent investigations.

Originally it was hoped land use data could be acquired from the various planning offices within Metropolitan Victoria but this proved to be a problem. Seven municipal government bodies and the provincial government have jurisdiction in the study area. The municipal bodies are, as shown in Figure 2, Victoria, Oak Bay, Esquimalt, Saanich, Central Saanich, North Saanich and Sidney. Within this system Victoria and Saanich have planning offices and in addition the Capital Region Planning Board has jurisdiction over the entire area including the unorganized part of Metropolitan Victoria. It attempts to coordinate development in the region. Land use data was available from the City of Victoria and the Municipality of Saanich for their respective areas and from the Capital Region Planning Board for the unorganized part of Metropolitan Victoria and for Oak Bay, Central Saanich and North Saanich. This left Esquimalt and Sidney for which no reliable data was available. In addition, data available from some of the above agencies was as old as 1963.

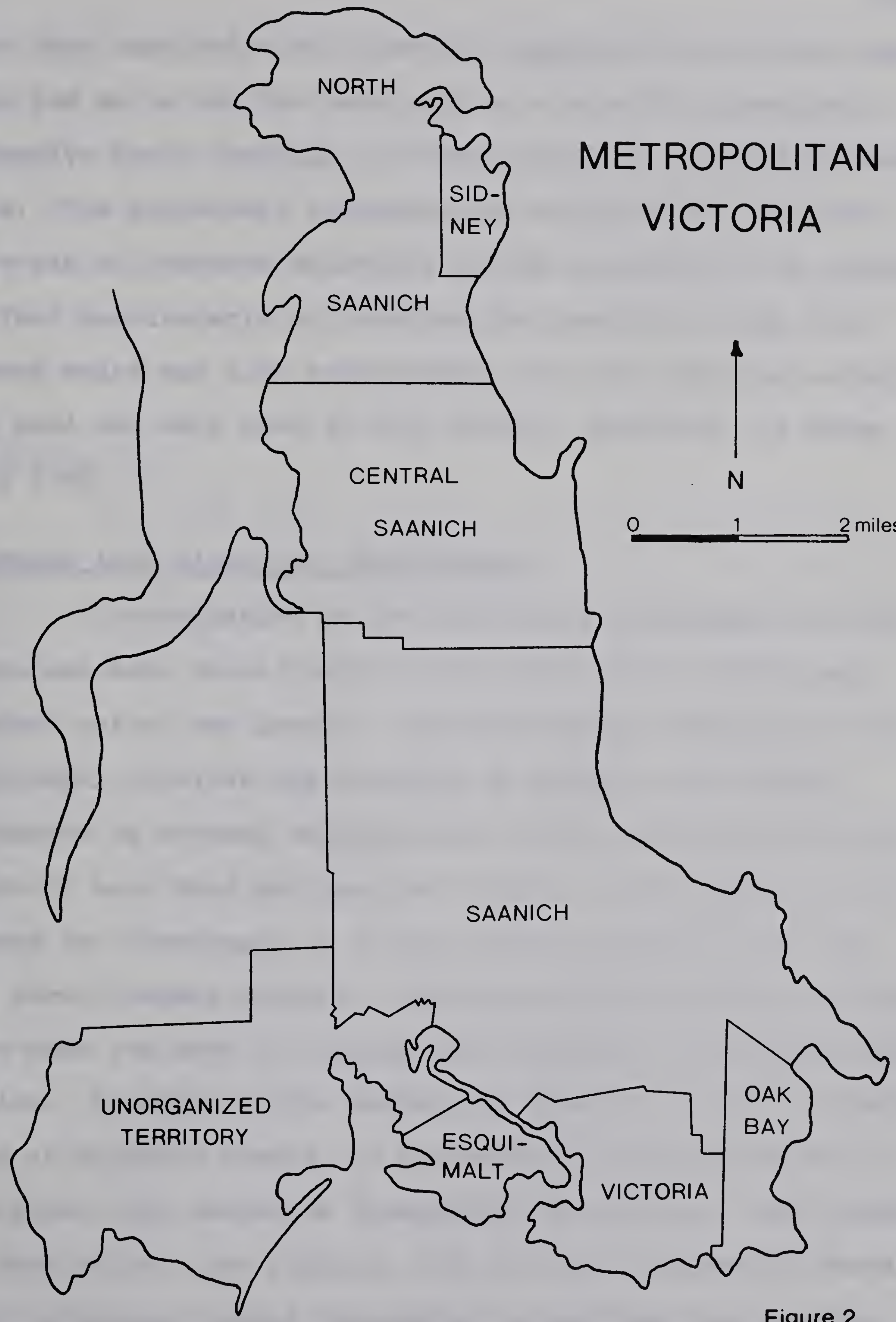

METROPOLITAN
VICTORIA
NORTH
SID-
NEY
SAANICH
CENTRAL
SAANICH
SAANICH
UNORGANIZED
TERRITORY
ESQUI-
MALT
VICTORIA
OAK
BAY
N
0
1
2 miles

Figure 2

This fact combined with a lack of comparability between surveys led me to use the data only as a base for subsequent extensive field checking in every sector of the Metropolitan Area. The windshield technique was employed for the most part but on frequent occasions it was necessary to do research on foot particularly in plotting the location of all food stores which was done concurrently with the land use survey. All land use data used in this thesis, therefore, is dated July 1968.

Research into Historical Development

Investigation of the historical development of Victoria and more specifically of the food store pattern was carried out at two levels. Firstly through research at the provincial archives and secondly by talking with elderly residents in several neighborhoods and by talking with operators of both food and non-food stores. With regard to the former the advantages of already having conducted the land use survey became evident. Knowing what was already in existence made the task of tracing the historical development much easier. Material on the history of Victoria, with the exception of Wright's thesis, is scattered in many places but it did prove very useful as background information. With regard to food stores, the 1910-11, 1931 and 1951 volumes of Henderson's Directory proved invaluable in plotting the location

of food stores through time. These years were chosen because of their correlation with census data and because variations within Henderson's Directory concerning the itemization of food stores prevented the development of a sequence of maps at smaller intervals of time. Informal discussions with local residents were also useful as background information at a micro level.

Questionnaires

The third stage of field investigation consisted of the compilation and subsequent distribution of a questionnaire for corner store operators and one for people living in surrounding areas. The first questionnaire, for operators of corner stores, was originally compiled in February 1968 and tested in six census tracts of the City of Edmonton. Problems which appeared at this stage were for the most part remedied and the questionnaire, as it was used, appears in Appendix A.

The primary purpose of this questionnaire was to aid in determining the form and function of small food stores and to provide some insights into a possible definition of the same. Personal interviews were attempted with ninety-one operators. This enabled flexibility in the way questions were asked and it also enabled on the spot interpretation of answers. The questionnaire in Appendix A, then, is a model,

on the basis of which the interviews were conducted.

One of the major problems in composing this questionnaire was in keeping it brief and simple so as not to try the patience of the operators who frequently had to wait on customers during the middle of the interview. This problem persisted in spite of the fact that they were approached during what I thought was their slack period. The questionnaire was also designed, for the most part, to elicit objective answers. The operators were given specific choices to make subsequent analysis by computer possible. Choices or categories were formulated before the interviews were conducted on the basis of the Edmonton Pilot Study to prevent the introduction of bias into the categorization which would result if it were done after the interview was conducted. The question of earnings is noticeably absent from the questionnaire. It was omitted because I felt any inquiry along these lines would prove detrimental to accurate answers to other important questions. If included near the end, the interview may have closed on a sour note. Included at the end of the operator questionnaire is a list of items which relate primarily to the form of the establishments. In this instance the stores were categorized on the basis of my own assessment.

One expected problem which did not arise relates to the ability of many Chinese operators to speak English. My inability to speak Chinese was only significant in the hard

core Chinatown as in most other areas of Victoria I managed to convey my questions in a manner which elicited an adequate response. Other minor problems did arise through the use of this questionnaire but they are related to specific questions and will be discussed when the same questions are considered.

The second questionnaire (Appendix B) was designed primarily to aid in determining the function of corner stores from the standpoint of the people who use them. It was also intended to determine where people do their grocery shopping. The method employed in utilizing the residential questionnaire was in direct contrast to the method used with the operator questionnaire. The difference is largely a matter of scale. Whereas in the previous case ninety-one interviews were attempted, many more were required for the residential questionnaire. In total 987 questionnaires were distributed in the five areas of Metropolitan Victoria illustrated in Figure 3. Three areas were defined on the basis of census tracts and two others on the basis of enumeration areas. Census tracts and enumeration areas were chosen because of the availability of data for subsequent analysis on that basis. In addition they corresponded approximately to the distribution of various soci-economic levels of the population. Census Tract 9 for example, fringes on the waterfront industrial sector of Victoria. Although the western portion of the Tract would

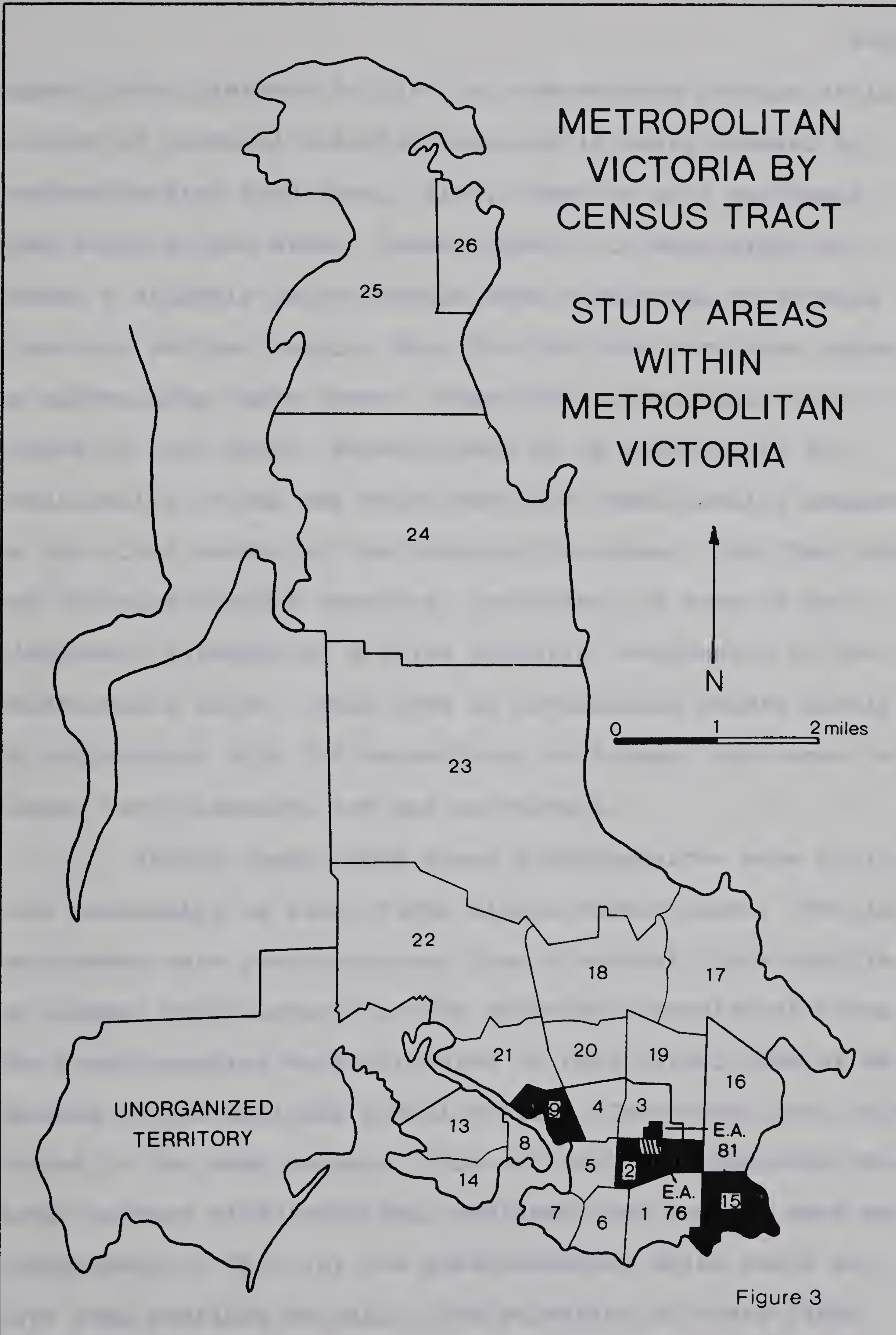

METROPOLITAN VICTORIA BY CENSUS TRACT
STUDY AREAS WITHIN METROPOLITAN VICTORIA
26
25
24
23
22
18
17
21
20
19
16
9
4
3
E.A. 81
13
8
5
2
UNORGANIZED TERRITORY
14
E.A. 76
15
7
6
1
N
0
1
2 miles

Figure 3

appear quite pleasant to live in, the eastern portion is in a state of physical deterioration and is being invaded by non-residential land uses. Also, there is only one small food store in the area. Census Tract 2 is what might be termed a slightly below average area consisting of working class and retired people, who, for the most part take pride in maintaining their homes. There are eleven small food stores in this area. Census Tract 15 is situated in the Municipality of Oak Bay which has been traditionally regarded as the elite sector of the Metropolitan Area. The Tract chosen contains stately mansions, including the home of the lieutenant governor of British Columbia, emblematic of the aristocratic elite. This type of development exists mostly in conjunction with the waterfront, as inland, the homes, although very pleasant, are not as stately.

Within these three areas questionnaires were delivered personally to every fifth single family house. The interviewees were pre-determined from electoral lists supplied by Liberal headquarters for the electoral district of Victoria. The questionnaires were delivered on foot rather than by mail because of the national postal strike. They were later collected in the same manner. This at least provided some personal contact with individual residents and enabled some encouragement to fill out the questionnaires which would not have been possible by mail. The selection of every fifth

single family house may introduce some bias into the results because such structures are associated with particular segments of the population. However, because of a combination again of the postal strike and problems involved in gaining access to the more elite apartments in Oak Bay it was felt that this was the only useful way around the problem. Apartments are not a significant part of Tract 9 and only recently has Tract 2 been invaded by this type of development.

Originally it was intended that personal interviews be undertaken. However, this method restricted the time during which interviews could be conducted. It would have been necessary to interview between about 1:30 P.M. and 4:00 P.M. and 6:30 P.M. and 9:00 P.M. so as to avoid interrupting people at meal time. This combined with day sleepers, elderly people resting in the afternoon and people on holidays discouraged the employment of this technique.

A third method was tried unsuccessfully in the pilot study which was noted previously. It consisted of interviewing people at the stores. This method was unsuccessful because people were frequently in a rush and the operators were at times wary of my presence even though permission had been obtained from them to conduct the interviews. In addition it would have taken too long to obtain an adequate number of interviews.

In order to gain some idea of spatial behavioral

patterns at a larger scale Enumeration Areas 76 and 81 were selected for further investigation. Enumeration Area 76 is in Census Tract 2 and 81 is in Tract 3 although they are adjoining. In the midst of these two enumeration areas, and almost across the street from each other are situated two corner stores. They are competing for business in the same neighbourhood. To make the analysis meaningful questionnaires were distributed to every single family house in the two adjoining areas.

Questionnaire Analysis

Analysis of the objective portions of the questionnaire was carried out by computer. An attempt was made to employ the Chi-Square Test but because too many cells were present in terms of the number of cases available the expected values were too low for accurate Chi-Square Tests. As a bi-product of this attempt frequency tables were established for all possible cases in each of the questionnaires. This simplified greatly a task which would have been virtually impossible to carry out by hand in a reasonable time.

Data Acquired From Municipal Government and Planning Agencies

The final stage of field work consisted of interviews with planning officials to obtain their attitudes toward corner shops. It also consisted of acquiring square footage data on all food stores in the Metro Area and of acquiring

information on how frequently corner shops had changed hands since 1958. This year was chosen because it was the earliest date for which complete and comparable data was available.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOOD STORE PATTERN IN VICTORIA

VICTORIA BEFORE 1913

Historical Development

As early as 1778 explorers from both Spain and Britain had visited Vancouver Island. They had agreed, through the Nootka Convention, that permanent possession of the Island would be acquired by the country which could settle and develop the area first. No permanent settlement did take place until Fort Victoria was established by the British in 1843. Because settlement was taking place rapidly in the Oregon Territory, the Hudson's Bay Company, which had its headquarters at the Columbia's mouth (Fort Vancouver), was forced north, and it was for the purpose of establishing a new headquarters that Victoria was founded. The Hudson's Bay Company, having extensive control over settlement, attempted successfully to discourage it in favor of the fur trade. This was done through their commercial monopoly and by raising land costs. Necessity goods were available only at Company stores where three price levels were established - one each for officers and servants

of the Company and a third for colonists (Wright, 1965, p. 28). The mark-up ranged from one third in the first instance, 50 per cent to 100 per cent in the second, to as much as 300 per cent in the third. This gave the Company significant economic power which enabled it to regulate the course of development. By 1853 only three hundred people had settled at Victoria (Begg, 1894, p. 201). Because of the lack of settlement, in 1858 both Vancouver Island and the Mainland returned to direct British control.

The Gold Rush of 1858 attracted many people to Victoria. Its influence, however, is often overrated because many people stayed for only a few months. In some areas, including Victoria, the Gold Rush tended to pull people from the land and in doing so countered many of the beneficial results which were possible. Britain, though, was genuinely interested in settlement and consequently development began to proceed much more smoothly. But as Wright (1965, p. 68) has noted, subsequent years in Victoria's history were not unsubject to fluctuation.

> . . . it has become clear that over all development of the Victoria Region has proceeded by a number of well defined stages. The booms of the sixties and eighties of the last century, that of the early nineteen hundreds, and the most recent one which has followed the second world war, have provided the principal impetus for settlement within the region. The intervening periods while characterized by continuing growth have not so much altered as reinforced the patterns which the major periods created in the regional landscape. While this

> generalization applies most particularly to the town it is also true of the countryside, the development of which has always been incidental rather than basic to the main urban function of the region.

The original Hudson's Bay Company Fort was built on the northern shores of James Bay. As the Indians became less troublesome traders began moving beyond the walls of the Fort. Subsequently the Colonial Surveyor was forced to devise a 'Town Plan'.

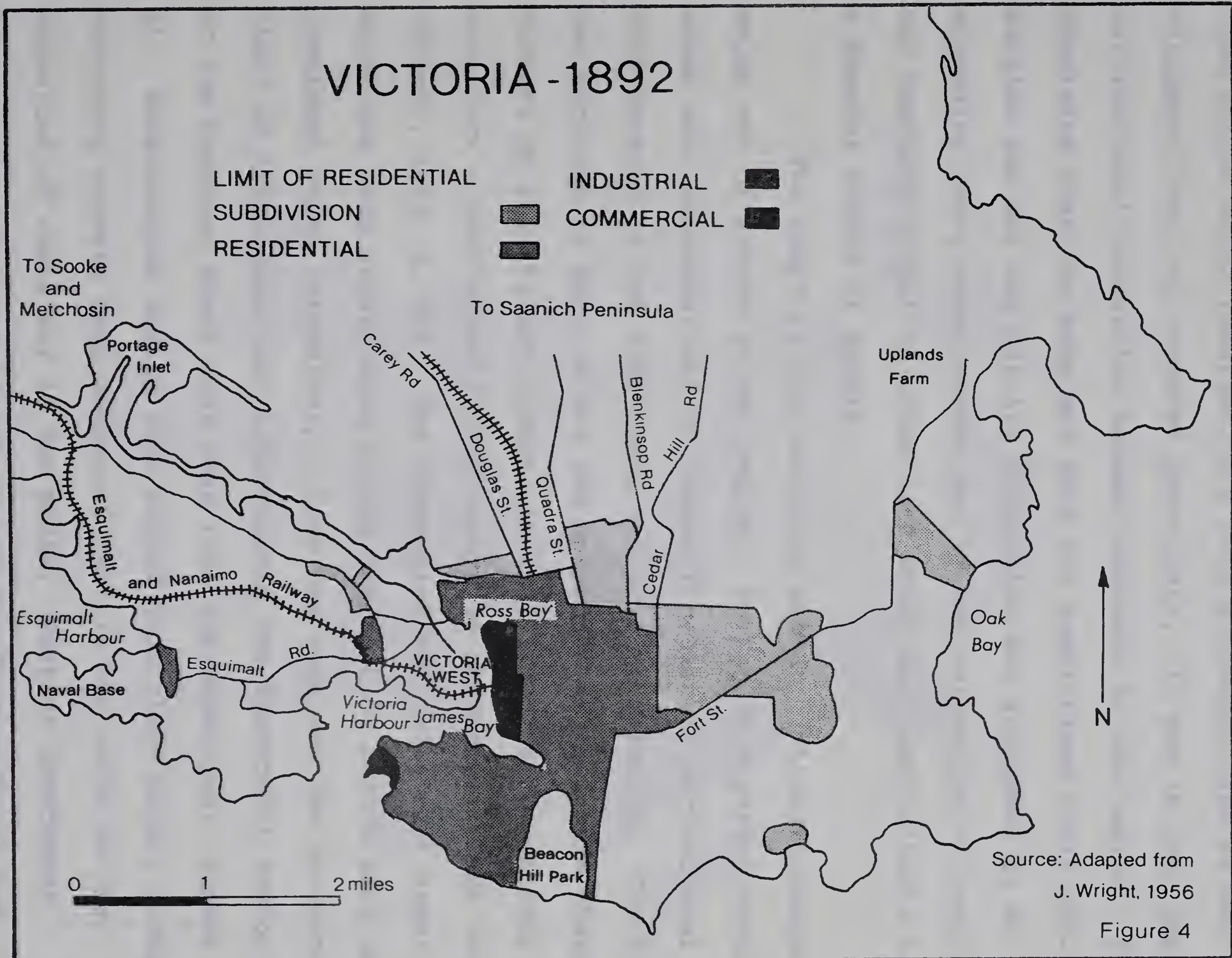
> 'The Town Plan' was laid out on a rectangle the base of which was on the waterfront between James and Rock Bays, and which extended inland to the east to the line upon which Cook Street is located. Within this form was described a regular gridwork of streets running north to south and east to west, and enclosing blocks comprised of lots for the most part sixty by one hundred and twenty feet in size. This subdivision, even to the detail of the individual lots has persevered in remarkably intact form until the present when it comprises the downtown area of the modern city. (Wright, 1965, p. 61).

The aesthetic qualities of water on three sides and a park on the fourth made James Bay more desirable for residential development than land to the north. Between Rock Bay and James Bay, land on the waterfront assumed importance for industrial and commercial functions while residential uses dominated the landscape further inland. Temporary wooden construction was very common in all areas during this period.

The second major boom, which occurred in the nineties, improved the quality and increased the density of buildings. Instead of wood, more brick and stone was used. The boom continued and expansion took place on the edges of

the urban area. In the east it was ribbon in nature along Fort Street and in the west it began to spread into what is now Esquimalt. With this most recent expansion the City's boundaries were revised in 1891 to the form which they now possess. Functional relationships attained by 1892 can be seen in Figure 4. The commercial importance of both Government and Johnson Streets at the time is well illustrated. Johnson Street Bridge was originally constructed to link the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway to the Town. Fort Street's original function was to link Uplands Farm, now an exclusive residential area, with the Town. Point Elice Bridge linked Victoria West and the Esquimalt Naval Base (established in 1859) with downtown Victoria (Wright, 1965, p. 28). To the west, a wagon road linked Metchosin and Sooke to the City while to the north Blenkinsop, Carey and Cedar Hill Roads and Quadra Street provided accessibility to the Saanich Peninsula (Wright, 1965, p. 65).

Agriculture within the confines of what is now the Metropolitan Area between 1860 and 1890 took the form of what might be called traditional farming before production was specialized. Expansion in the sixties was primarily a result of commercial opportunity but expansion in the eighties could be attributed to improved transportation facilities (Wright, 1965, p. 7). This made the region more accessible. Rural areas were directly affected by the subsequent popula-



Source: Adapted from J. Wright, 1956

Figure 4

tion influx which resulted in a very different type of development than had occurred previously. It was in 1891 when horticultural production became prominent in the region. The knowledge that the area was good for specialized fruit production was not new but its production was quickened by an expanding local urban market and by the emigration of people who preferred rural to urban land which was more suitable to a greater number of people.

The start of the twentieth century initiated another major era of growth in the region. During this period rural areas were characterized by intensification of agricultural uses because of the additional influx of population. The urban portions of what is now the Metropolitan Area were characterized by significant changes in their internal functional structure - particularly with regard to residential land use (Wright, 1965, p. 86). The commercial and industrial areas which had been established during the earlier period were now developed quite intensively. Rock Bay remained the northern limit of development and consequently the commercial sector of the downtown moved east away from the waterfront (Figure 5). Construction during this period took place mainly along east-west streets from Johnson Street in the north to the shoreline of James Bay in the south. East of Government Street, James Bay was filled in and the Empress Hotel was constructed while across the Bay the parliament buildings

Source: Adapted from Wright, 1956

Figure 5

were built in 1898. These two elements of the landscape comprise the skyline of the inner harbour today. The new building boom was in evidence along Douglas Street where multi-storey buildings were built on both sides. Douglas Street replaced Government Street as Victoria's major shopping street. There was enough construction before 1911 to contain commercial development almost to the present time. Significant amounts of new development are absent from the downtown area.

Industrial development progressed more slowly than commercial functions although like commercial development the basic pattern was set during this early period. Because of speculation by the Federal government concerning the opening of the Panama Canal, Victoria's harbour was dredged, thus enabling it to handle larger ocean going vessels. This tended to increase the value of waterfront property and as a result development began spreading around the Victoria shoreline (Wright, 1965, p. 89).

Residential expansion occurred at a major scale during this period and it corresponded very closely to the extension of the transportation system. It extended in a ribbon like manner to the east along the street railway to Oak Bay and to the west along the line which in 1898 connected the City to the Esquimalt Naval Base (Wright, 1965, p. 89). Residential expansion once again brought to the fore the

problem of municipal organization. To the east Oak Bay was incorporated in 1906 and to the west Esquimalt in 1912. Less satisfactorily Saanich was incorporated in 1906 - in this case encompassing land north of the City boundary to the present day boundary between North and Central Saanich. At this time also North Saanich organized itself as a municipality but only lasted four years. In summarizing residential development, Wright (1965, p. 90) stated that

> The liberal admixture of buildings of differing age which resulted from the wide area available for their accommodation has prevented the attainment of unity in spatial organization or the emergence of any definite neighborhood quality in residential development in the twentieth century. That the form within which the town was to expand was fixed, in the majority of cases inflexibly, by the pattern of land subdivision existing in 1912 has inhibited the evolution of a sound urban environment and resulted in the flight of residence to an illusionary rural surrounding.

Distribution of Food Stores in 1911

Although the basic pattern of land use had been established by 1911 in Victoria, the same cannot be said about the distribution of food stores. Generally, in 1911, the distribution of food stores closely approximated the areas of commercial and residential land use. It also approximates the area shown as built up in Figure 5. Stores for the most part are situated in the City of Victoria. It is noteworthy that the greatest concentration occurs in the area shown as

the Central Business District on the map of 1912. This is in direct contrast to present trends. Although the densest concentration appears in the commercial sector, the area with greatest accessibility to the region, there does appear to be some scattering throughout the major residential sectors of the City. This is particularly true in the area immediately to the east of the C. B. D. The map of 1912 illustrates how ribbon streets began to develop beyond the major portion of the built up area. Fort Street, leading from the centre of downtown Victoria to Oak Bay developed initially as a ribbon street as shown in Figure 4. Development in 1911, however, had progressed to the point where Fort Street (Figure 5) had become immersed in the built up area but none the less still appearing as an appendage to the same. Correspondingly, in Figure 6, at least six stores can be seen spanning this appendage almost to the waters edge in Oak Bay. In addition, it is generally true that those stores existing in the outlying areas are on major arterials. A similar situation exists to the east in the Municipality of Esquimalt along Esquimalt Road. Stores, as was the case in Oak Bay, are distributed along a major arterial and are located at relatively important intersections. Saanich, although incorporated in 1906, contained only one food store by 1911. Its predominantly agricultural base and the absence of grocery stores would indicate people were growing some of their own food and

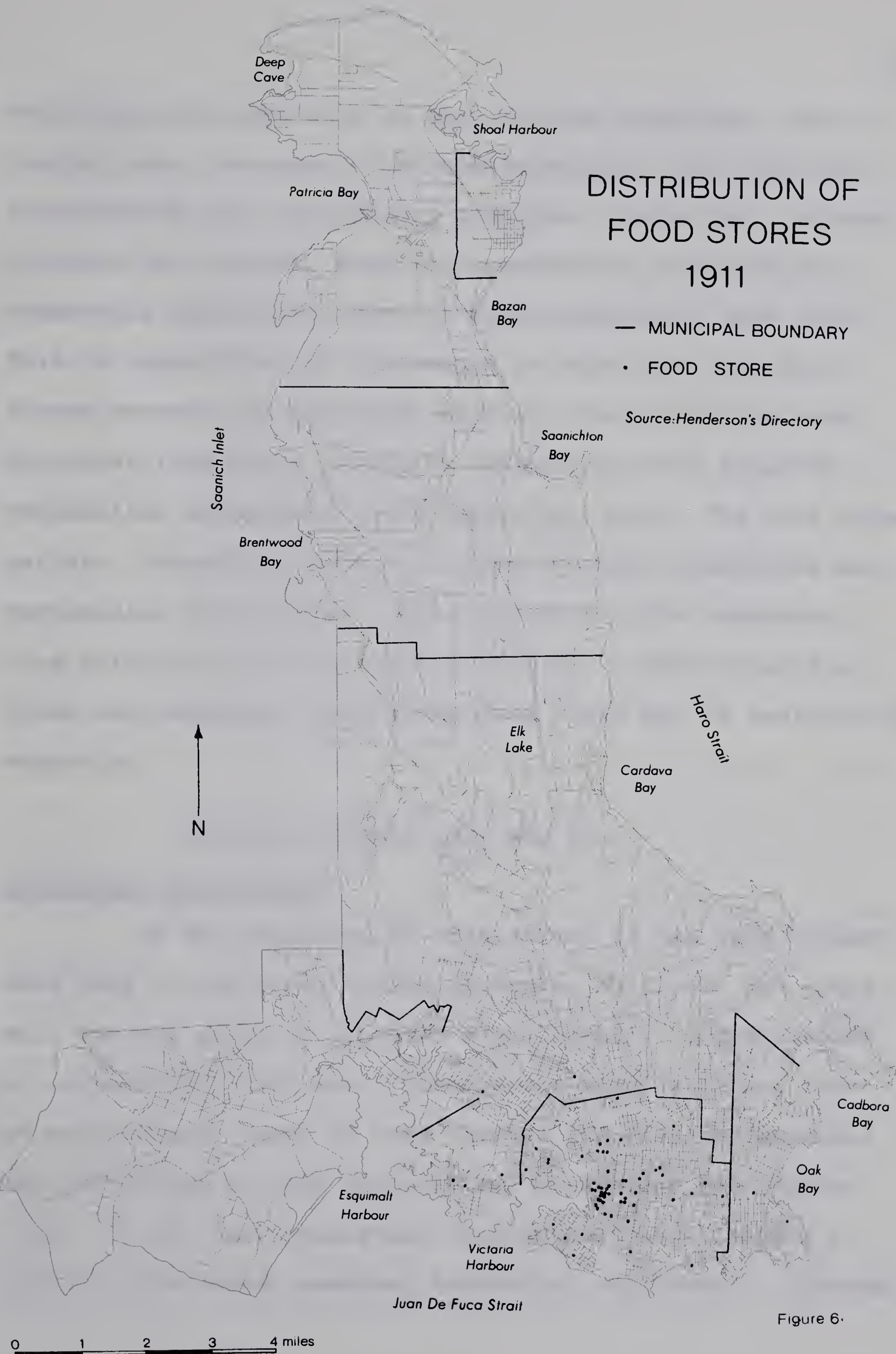

DISTRIBUTION OF
FOOD STORES
1911
— MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY
• FOOD STORE
Source: Henderson's Directory
Deep Cove
Shoal Harbour
Patricia Bay
Bazan Bay
Saanich Inlet
Saanichton Bay
Brentwood Bay
Haro Strait
Elk Lake
Cordova Bay
N
Cadboro Bay
Oak Bay
Esquimalt Harbour
Victoria Harbour
Juan De Fuca Strait
0 1 2 3 4 miles

Figure 6.

travelling into the City to shop for the remainder. The central area, because of its accessibility, still held attractiveness even for grocery shopping. James Bay, the area in which the original Fort was constructed, had lost any commercial importance which it might previously have held. This is exemplified by the manner in which the four food stores present are dispersed randomly throughout the area. One other food store exists in conjunction with isolated residential development in the Ross Bay area. The food store pattern, therefore, indicates areas of major commercial and residential development. The validity of this statement from this point on will tend to decline - rather slowly at first but reaching a peak after post World War II residential expansion.

VICTORIA BETWEEN 1912 AND 1931

Historical Development

By the beginning of this period it was very evident that land to the west, including Sooke, Metchosin and Esquimalt was not going to increase significantly in residential or agricultural land use. These areas were declining from an agricultural point of view whereas the Saanich Peninsula was increasing in both agricultural production and population. To the west population fluctuations were largely a result of the area's seasonal industrial employment. Fishing,

trapping and logging were the major sources of income - the agricultural potential, although present to a limited extent, was not expanding. Soils are poorer here than in the Saanich Peninsula and much of this western area is physically separated from the rest of the region. Agriculture that remained in the west was usually carried on by residents during the off season of logging or fishing. Metchosin, Langford and Colwood also declined agriculturally. Poor soils and increased competition for land were the two major causes (Wright, 1965, p. 98). The most dominant invading use was urban residential expansion. The early development of summer cottages around Langford and Glen Lakes had led by 1930 to the establishment of more permanent settlements.

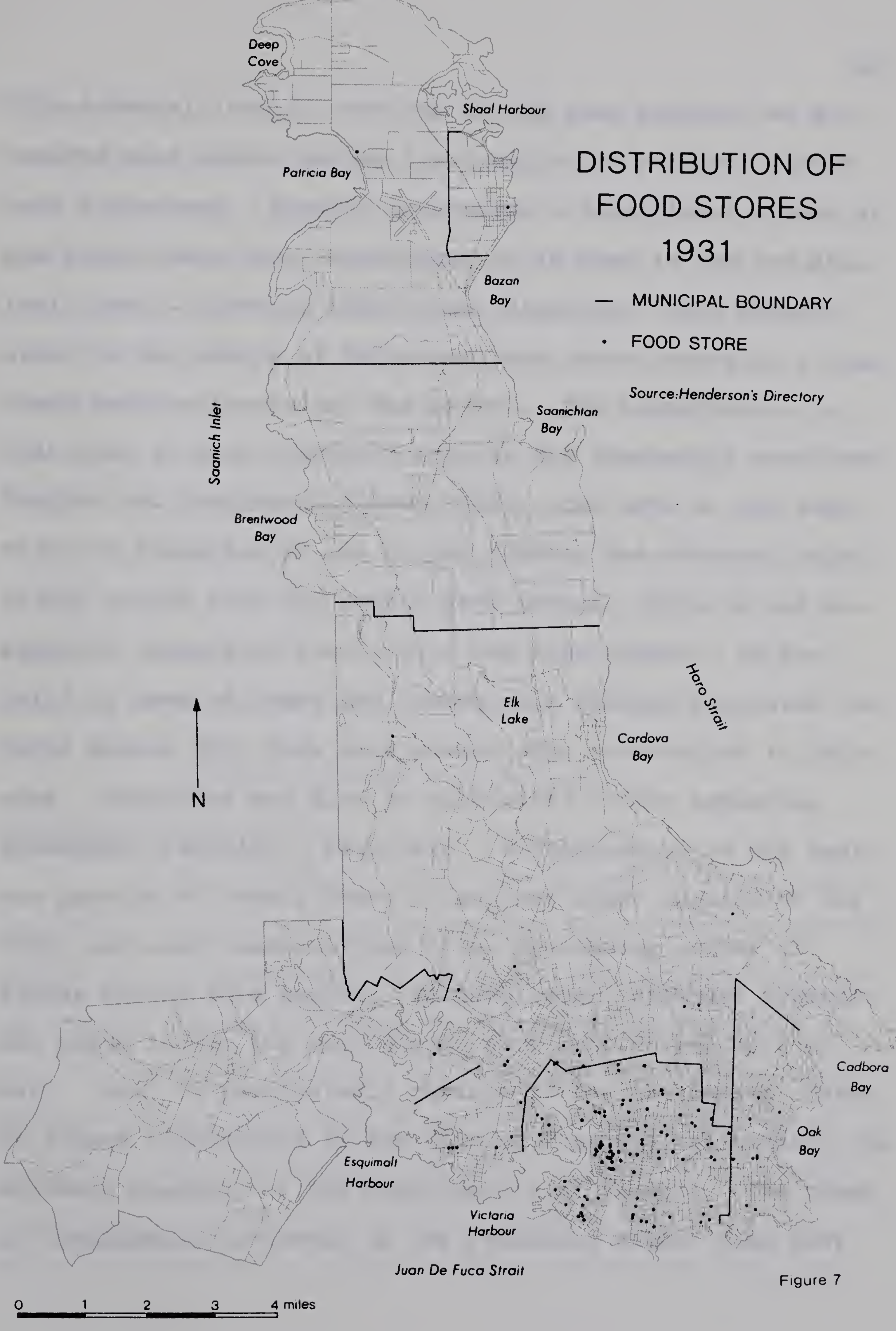
In the meantime horticultural specialization continued to increase in the Saanich Peninsula. Expansion here was taking place in two forms. Firstly by normal extension of the built up area and secondly by the establishment of local nucleations. Even during the previous period the cement works on Tod Inlet had originated today's settlement at Brentwood and the explosives plant on James Island, west of Central Saanich, had caused additional settlement at Sidney, Saanichton and Keating (Wright, 1965, p. 102). Another factor contributing to nucleated settlement was comparable to that which took place at Langford. Deep Cove and Cordova Bay, for example, were characterized at first by temporary summer

homes but soon they began to take on a more permanent nature. Traditional mixed farming characterized the low lying areas while specialized horticultural production is typical of the well drained ridges. Most residential expansion is also taking place on these ridges - although it is limited by an inadequate water supply and good road communication with the City. (Wright, 1965, p. 104).

Distribution of Food Stores in 1931

Figure 7, showing the distribution of food stores in 1931, is distorted slightly because of the absence of eight stores situated on the Saanich Peninsula. It was not possible to plot them because addresses were not given for these stores in Henderson's Directory.

Some very obvious changes have taken place in the distribution of food stores since 1911. In the first place they have increased in number from sixty-six in 1911 to 142 in 1931. However, the area of densest concentration of food stores, has shifted east and north of Douglas Street and Pandora Avenue respectively. In 1911 the densest concentration was situated between Douglas Street, Broughton Street, Government Street and Pandora Avenue (Appendix C includes maps showing major streets in the area). In 1931 there is not such a distinct concentration, although there are two nodes on Douglas and Government Streets north of Pandora Avenue.



DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD STORES 1931
— MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY
• FOOD STORE
Source:Henderson's Directory
Deep Cove
Shoal Harbour
Patricia Bay
Bazan Bay
Saanichton Bay
Saanich Inlet
Brentwood Bay
Haro Strait
Elk Lake
Cordova Bay
N
Cadboro Bay
Oak Bay
Esquimalt Harbour
Victoria Harbour
Juan De Fuca Strait
0 1 2 3 4 miles

Figure 7

This arterial itself, over the twenty year period, has attracted more stores making its function as a ribbon street more pronounced. Another area where a significant number of new stores have been constructed is in what is now the Athletic Park - Victoria High School district. Cook Street, about in the centre of this area, has three stores on it between Pandora Avenue and Bay Street. The distribution in this area is more dispersed than in the previously mentioned Douglas and Government Street nodes. The area to the west, with the exception of one or two stores, has remained relatively static over the twenty year period. This is not unexpected because of the lack of new development. As the built up area of James Bay became more densely populated towards Beacon Hill Park more stores were constructed in this area. Expansion may also be attributed to the expanding government function. Fairfield, (corresponding to the western portion of Census Tract 1) another older portion of the City, was also characterized by an increasing number of stores during this period. As development expanded towards the north in Oak Bay more stores were constructed here as well. What is particularly obvious is the increasing number of stores constructed in the City of Victoria but towards the southern boundary of the Municipality of Saanich. The trend of development northward up the Peninsula rather than west

toward Sooke is exemplified by the increased number of food stores constructed in that direction.

In 1911 people were concentrated mainly in the City of Victoria. By 1931, with an expanding population people were being forced to live farther from the actual downtown and therefore the construction of food stores within outlying residential areas became necessary - particularly in view of the convenience nature of the commodity. Although many of the stores were situated on major arterials, some were also being constructed on busy residential streets - the arterials of the future. In addition, stores were still being constructed in relatively new neighbourhoods such as those toward the northern limit of development in Oak Bay.

VICTORIA BETWEEN 1932 AND 1951

Historical Development

As the twentieth century progressed it became evident that the railroad on the mainland was to have a profound effect on the development of Victoria. Although government and defence functions tended to fluctuate with changing political times, the presence of the C. P. R. on the mainland tended to limit industrial expansion and expand the resort function. Both the tourist trade and the influx of retired pensioners continued to increase. Because of this, the amount of residential land use became relatively large com-

pared to other uses in the City. People are, therefore, attracted to the region for both its economic and natural advantages. During this period the pattern of residential use was spread thinly throughout the area. As residential uses expanded outward so did the commercial function. The C. B. D. for everyday or weekly use was becoming more and more inaccessible to the average urban dweller.

Distribution of Food Stores in 1951

Between 1932 and 1951 the number of food stores increased by fifty-eight, from 142 in 1931 to two hundred in 1951 (Figure 8). This increase is down slightly from the previous twenty year period when the net gain was seventy-six stores (from sixty-six in 1911 to 142 in 1931). It is indicative of a trend to increased store size which will become more pronounced during the next period.

Except for the area in the vicinity of the downtown, the trend during this period is one of reinforcing the pattern which existed in 1931 and of continued limited expansion outwards. In the downtown area the nodes north of Pandora Avenue on Government and Douglas Streets have all but disappeared. The concentration appears to have shifted once again south of Pandora Avenue. However, the overall concentration in the downtown of food stores which existed in past years has started to decline noticeably. With regard to other areas in the

City the gravitation of stores toward major arterials has become more evident particularly along Fort Street and Pandora Avenue. Also, residential expansion has moved northward into Oak Bay. In this area there is also a marked increase in the number of food stores - particularly where four have clustered together in the village centre with other uses. The concentration on Douglas Street in James Bay which was evident in 1931 has declined sharply - mainly a result of business casualties during the depression. The Esquimalt area, except once again for Esquimalt Road, remained relatively static insofar as food store development is concerned. Most of the fifty-eight store increase over this twenty year period was absorbed by the northern portions of the City of Victoria and by southern Saanich. In this regard significant increases took place along Quadra Street and in the Gorge. The beginnings of commercial development in the nucleations at Cadboro Bay and at Colwood also appear for the first time on the 1951 map. In 1951 food stores were still, for the most part, absent from the remainder of the Saanich Peninsula. The major exception is the beginning of a concentration at Sidney. This is because in the Victoria region, decentralization of commercial facilities, as it is known today, had not really started. People living in a rural environment were still satisfied to travel into the City to do their weekly shopping. It is only in the last two decades that this trend has reversed

itself in Metropolitan Victoria. Nineteen fifty-one then, appears to mark the end of what might be called the traditional shopping environment.

VICTORIA IN 1968

Residential and Commercial Land Use

The basic pattern of land use existing in 1968 (Figure 9) is very similar to the one which existed in 1912. Residential land use has its densest concentration in the City of Victoria, Oak Bay and southern Saanich. Present policy in Saanich, where most new housing development in the Metropolitan Area is occurring, is towards infilling or the orderly progression outwards of residential uses. The oldest residential area of the City is well illustrated in Figure 10. More houses were constructed before 1920 in Tracts 1, 2, 6, and 7 than in any other portion of the region. The progression toward lighter shading leads towards more scattered, but on the whole more recent development. Central Saanich had been incorporated in 1950, Sidney in 1952 and North Saanich again in 1963. For the most part, single family dwellings had dominated the landscape in the past, but now, apartments began to develop in the older areas. This is true particularly in James Bay and along the southern boundary of Tract 2 in association with Fort Street. Development in James Bay is of the high rise type (more than twelve storeys) and in

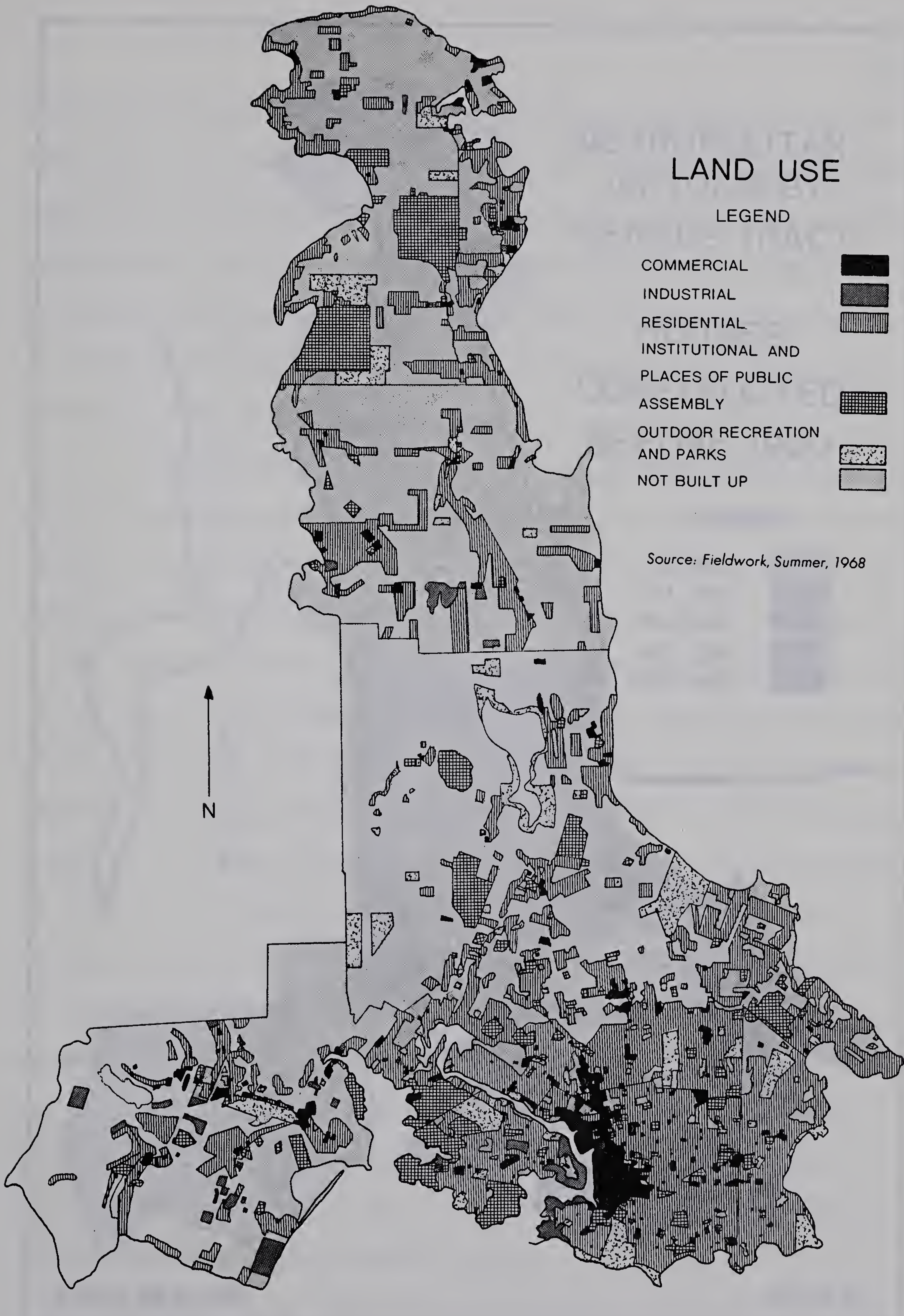

LAND USE
LEGEND
COMMERCIAL
INDUSTRIAL
RESIDENTIAL
INSTITUTIONAL AND PLACES OF PUBLIC ASSEMBLY
OUTDOOR RECREATION AND PARKS
NOT BUILT UP
Source: Fieldwork, Summer, 1968
N
0 1 2 3 4 miles

Figure 9

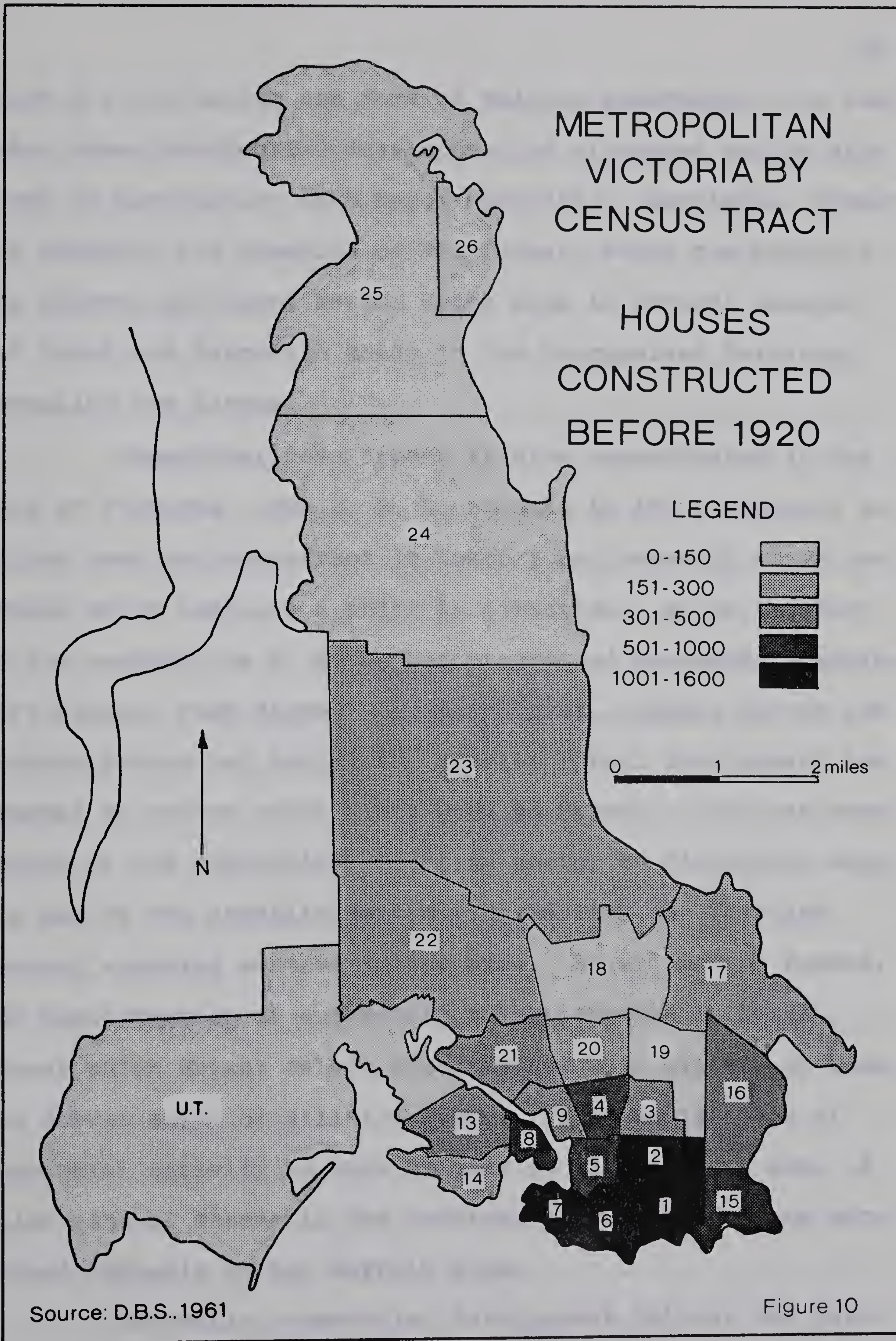

METROPOLITAN VICTORIA BY CENSUS TRACT
HOUSES CONSTRUCTED BEFORE 1920
LEGEND
0-150
151-300
301-500
501-1000
1001-1600
0
1
2 miles
N
25
26
24
23
22
18
17
21
20
19
16
U.T.
13
9
4
3
8
2
5
14
7
6
1
15
Source: D.B.S., 1961

Figure 10

Tract 2 it is taking the form of walk-up apartments. In the rural areas residential development is clustered and is also found in association with major arterials. Brentwood, Sidney and Langford are examples of the former, while the Patricia Bay Highway and Mount Newton Cross Road in Central Saanich, and Sooke and Metchosin Roads in the Unorganized Territory exemplify the latter.

Commercial development is also concentrated in the City of Victoria. The C. B. D. remains in its historical position near the waterfront in Tract 5 but recently there are trends which indicate a shift in direction. Since the turn of the century the C. B. D. has progressed eastwards spanning Fort Street, View Street, Douglas Street, Johnson Street and Pandora Avenue but during the sixties retail development has started to extend north along Douglas Street. This has been caused by the automotive retailing sector of Victoria's economy and by the establishment of the Mayfair and Town and Country shopping centres in the area. Regarding the former, the concentration of automobile establishments on Yates Street which Wright talked about is now more evident on Douglas Street north of Hillside Avenue. This redirection of commercial activity is very evident on the land use map. A major renewal scheme in the downtown will only postpone continued emphasis in the Mayfair area.

Generally, commercial development follows the resi-

dential pattern. Clustering exists at Sidney, Langford, Brentwood and Cordova Bay while on the arterials leading to these developments ribbon commercial activities exist. The latter is particularly evident on the Old Island Highway leading to Langford.

Within the major built up area, southern Saanich, Esquimalt, Oak Bay and Victoria, unplanned shopping centres exist. In Esquimalt the major shopping area is on Esquimalt Road and is in association with local municipal services such as the municipal hall and fire and police departments. The same is true for Oak Bay on Oak Bay Avenue where most local shopping is done. This centre is particularly liked by the elderly people of the area, who, according to local merchants, are regular customers. Saanich lacks a major unplanned centre such as the previous two. Ribbon streets extend out to these cluster developments which themselves tend to be ribbon like in nature. Examples include Esquimalt Road in Esquimalt and Fort Street and Pandora Avenue in the City, leading to Oak Bay and Oak Bay Avenue in Oak Bay. The only two large scale planned centres in the region are the Mayfair shopping centre located on Douglas Street at Tolmie Avenue and the new Simpson-Sears centre at Hillside Avenue and Shelbourne Street. The developers of the latter hope to drain off much of the business from the north and northwest of the built up area - people who would normally

have to drive by the site to reach Mayfair.

At a smaller scale both unplanned and planned centres exist throughout the community. Both types exist generally in association with major arterials. Unplanned centres are situated on Cook Street near Beacon Hill Park, on Quadra Street at Cloverdale Avenue and at the junction of Richmond Road and Fort Street to name a few. Small planned centres exist in Fairfield and Cadboro Bay and at the junction of Shelbourne Street and Cedar Hill Crossroad.

Clustered developments with only three or four shops are dispersed in many places throughout the major built up area of the City. This is also true of the isolated stores which usually consist of small to medium size grocery establishments. Both the small cluster developments and the isolated shops, as will be indicated in the next chapter, are found on residential and major arterials for the most part.

The general pattern of commercial structure is one of concentration in and around the Central Business District with ribbon arterials leading to both planned and unplanned centres of varying size. Isolated stores and very small cluster developments are dispersed in between. At the metropolitan area level nearly the same pattern exists. The presence of strip commercial development on highways leading to cluster developments is very noticeable but in the outlying areas, except in a few instances, there is a lack of

isolated shops and small clusters of development which were quite common in the major built-up area.

Distribution of Food Stores in 1968

In 1968 there were 219 food stores in Metropolitan Victoria (Figure 11). This represents a sharp decline in the increase of stores over the previous twenty year period - from fifty-eight to nineteen. This is indicative of fewer but larger stores. Since 1951 decentralization and concentration along major arterials, particularly in the more outlying areas, are the major changes which have taken place.

The most significant increase has occurred in the Unorganized Territory where twenty-two stores are presently located. This represents one store for each 710 persons in the area and is well below the mean of 821 in Metropolitan Victoria (Table 1). Expansion has taken place on the two major routes leading through the area, Goldstream Avenue and Sooke Road. The number of stores has also increased significantly throughout the Saanich Peninsula. In Sidney an increase of almost 100 per cent has occurred and now there is one store for every 352 people in the area. Increases have also occurred in the rest of the Peninsula but since the area is sparsely settled and predominantly rural in nature there are few stores compared to the more densely populated regions. It would appear that Sidney is the major shopping

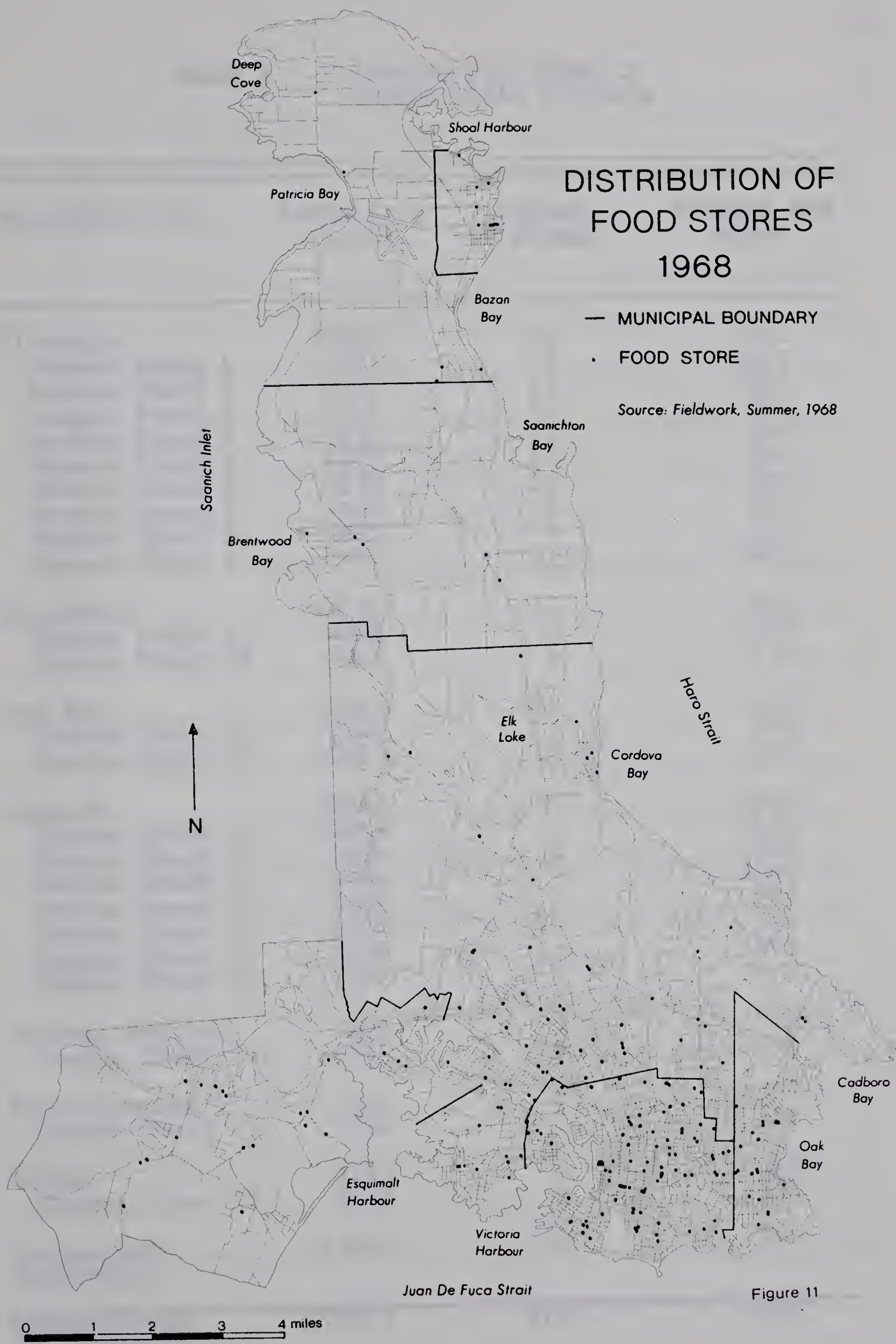

DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD STORES 1968
— MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY
• FOOD STORE
Source: Fieldwork, Summer, 1968
Deep Cove
Shoal Harbour
Patricia Bay
Bazan Bay
Saanichton Bay
Saanich Inlet
Brentwood Bay
Haro Strait
Elk Lake
Cordova Bay
N
Cadboro Bay
Oak Bay
Esquimalt Harbour
Victoria Harbour
Juan De Fuca Strait
0 1 2 3 4 miles

Figure 11

TABLE 1 - PERSONS PER STORE IN METROPOLITAN VICTORIA

POLITICAL UNIT	POPULATION (1966)	NUMBER OF STORES	PERSONS PER STORE
Victoria	57453	91	631
Census Tract 1	9275	8	1159
Census Tract 2	9278	18	515
Census Tract 3	7314	13	563
Census Tract 4	5859	10	586
Census Tract 5	4215	17	248
Census Tract 6	8638	11	785
Census Tract 7	7028	8	879
Census Tract 8	2877	4	719
Census Tract 9	2969	2	1485
Esquimalt	12891	13	992
Census Tract 13	6878	5	1376
Census Tract 14	6013	8	752
Oak Bay	18123	20	906
Census Tract 15	7140	9	792
Census Tract 16	10983	11	998
Saanich	58845	54	1090
Census Tract 17	10844	5	2169
Census Tract 18	6822	4	1706
Census Tract 19	9394	4	2349
Census Tract 20	6226	8	778
Census Tract 21	11284	19	594
Census Tract 22	7238	5	1448
Census Tract 23	7037	9	671
Central Saanich	3640	5	728
Census Tract 24	3640	5	728
North Saanich	2891	5	578
Census Tract 25	2891	5	578
Sidney	3165	9	352
Census Tract 26	3165	9	352
Unorganized Territory	15614	22	710
Metropolitan Area Total	173455	210	821

centre for most of the northern Peninsula although no effort has been made here to determine the trade area boundary for grocery shopping.

Although Cordova Bay and View Royal are important shopping centres for northern Saanich the major area of residential expansion for Metropolitan Victoria is located in the southern part of Saanich. With the exception of Tracts 20, 21 and 23 the number of stores has not increased proportionately with population. Commercial activity is frequently banned from new residential developments and people, therefore, are forced to travel further to do their grocery shopping. Even those new stores which have been constructed (particularly in Tracts 20 and 21) are not being built as part of neighbourhood development but rather are being constructed along major arterials. The northern part of Oak Bay, for example, an area of upper class residential expansion in the past twenty years, is completely devoid of any food stores.

There are few grocery stores in the southern parts of Victoria and Oak Bay because of the presence of large tracts of non-residential land use - namely Beacon Hill Park, Ross Bay Cemetery and the Victoria Golf Club. The district near the Victoria Golf Club in particular has been traditionally an upper class residential area. To the west and north of the golf club though, there are nine stores in

this Tract (one store for every 793 persons). Tract 6 is very similar but Tract 1 is well above the mean for the City. The presence of non-residential uses also explains the lack of development in Esquimalt. Industrial, institutional and government functions have deterred residential development and therefore the need for commercial activities.

Seventeen food outlets (one for every 248 persons living in the Tract) remain in Census Tract 5 which contains the C. B. D. Few of these are actually in the C. B. D. but several lie on its fringes to the east and west. They are mainly operated by Chinese people. In the west, the grocery stores in Chinatown aim at capturing the business of Chinese people. These stores import many of their goods directly from Hong Kong. To the east, food stores, again operated by Chinese businessmen, exist on Fort Street and capture a transient market. Tracts 2 and 3 have one store for every 515 and 563 persons respectively. Tract 2 in particular is densely populated and contains many smaller stores. Even in these areas, however, the stores gravitate to residential arterials.

New stores were built during this period but old ones also went out of business. The new stores constructed were usually much larger than the stores which went out of business or which were replaced by the new buildings. Many people are travelling farther today to do their grocery shopping than they ever did before.

CHAPTER 2

CLASSIFICATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD STORES

THE CLASSIFICATION

Classifications instill a degree of orderliness into data which otherwise would be too complex to comprehend easily. The simpler the classification the more easily it can be understood. Consequently, the purpose in classifying food stores is firstly to provide an orderly but meaningful way of presenting the data and secondly to provide a basis and framework for future discussion.

Food stores[1] were grouped in a four tier system based on floor area. Corner stores[2] have one thousand square feet or less, small food markets contain from one thousand to twenty-five hundred square feet, large food

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[1]Food store is defined here as any retail establishment whose main business is derived from the sale of general food stuffs. It does not include specialty food stores such as bakeries and meat markets except when they are incorporated into a general food business.

[2]The terms corner store and small food store are used synonymously throughout this paper in referring to food stores with one thousand square feet of retail floor area or less.

markets range from twenty-five hundred to ten thousand square feet and supermarkets are food stores with more than ten thousand square feet of retail floor area. Examples of each type are shown in Plates 1 to 4. The class interval limits were selected on the basis of a frequency diagram showing the number of different areas of stores in the study area (Figure 12). In addition, the boundaries, although primarily based on structural units, do take into consideration a very subjective analysis of function to be described shortly.

Floor area measured in square feet proved to be the most meaningful way of classifying stores both from the standpoint of simplicity and feasibility. Some other criteria which were considered include store hours, trade areas, variety of goods for sale, parking facilities, location within the community, number of employees, number of cash registers and the location of owners' living quarters. Store hours was rejected as a criterion of definition for several reasons. In the past it was only smaller grocery stores which remained open during the evening. Now, large discount stores and even chain stores like Safeway are open at least on Thursday and Friday nights in most cities. Variations in hours of operation exist because of differences in city by-laws. Consequently, it is no longer possible to say only small stores are open during the evening. The same trend is evident in Sunday openings. Trade area boundaries could not be used

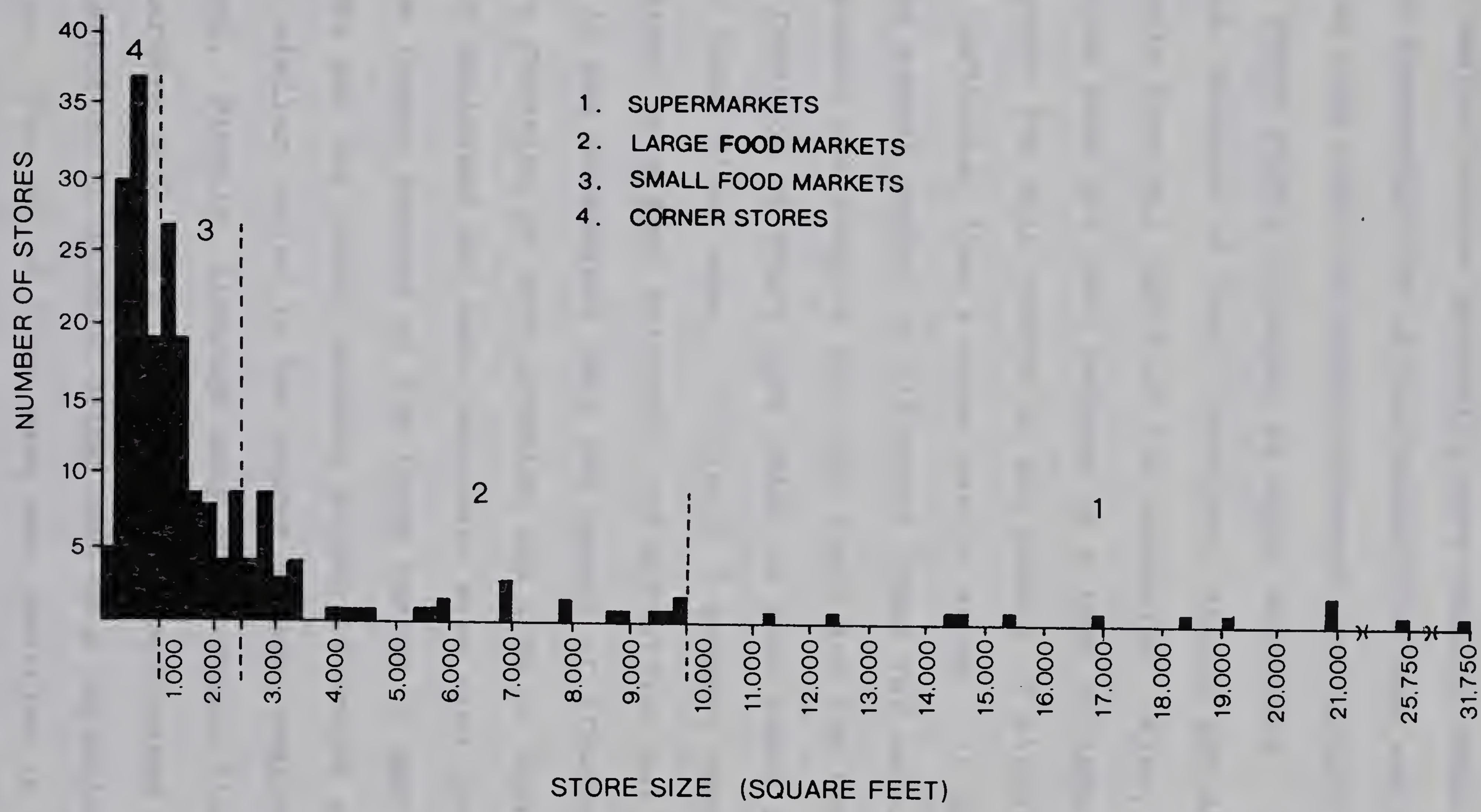
Plate 1. This Safeway store is typical of most first order food stores in Victoria.

Plate 2. This second order food store, operated by Chinese interests, was just completed in 1968. It replaced a third order store managed by the same people.

Plate 3. Third order stores such as the one shown here do not usually have living quarters attached.

Plate 4. This corner store situated on a neighbourhood street is an attribute to its environment.

FREQUENCY OF STORE SIZE



Source: Fieldwork, Summer, 1968

Figure 12

even though smaller stores generally have smaller trade areas. With increasing use of the automobile more and more exceptions to this rule are being uncovered particularly in the case of those stores situated on major arterials. In this instance, because of their locations, stores are attracting people from all parts of the community. Also, trade area boundaries were not used because of a lack of data. Variety of goods for sale refers to the number of different brands of a particular item a store has in stock. It also refers to the actual number of different items for sale. The former proved too complex for this study and the latter is really a function of store size which in most cases is reflected in total floor area. Initially I thought parking facilities might be a good criterion for definition but after testing it was determined that the amount of off-street parking was a function of both location and size of store. The number of employees and cash registers were also discounted. The former because of the large number of part time employees and the latter because stores otherwise appearing very similar varied in the number of cash registers they contained. Finally, although many store owners live in adjoining quarters with their families, this occurrence was not so consistent as to warrant being used as a criterion for definition. The use of floor area was justified in that stores with one thousand square feet or less, although not

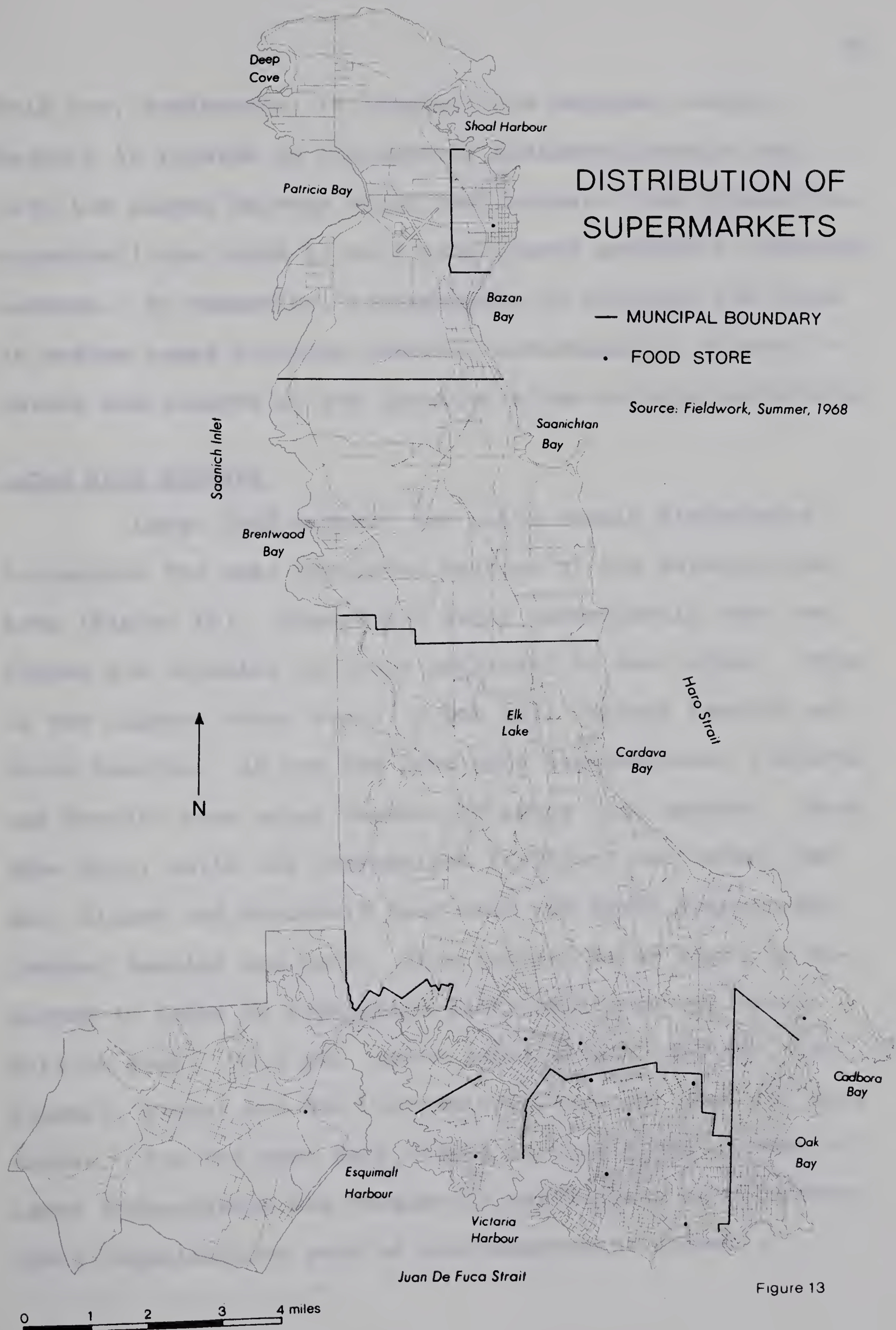
area, though smaller stores generally have smaller trade areas. With increasing use of the automobile more and more exceptions to this rule are being observed particularly in the case of those stores situated in good locations. In this instance, because of their locations, stores are attracting people from all parts of the community. Also, trade area boundaries were not used because of a lack of data. Variety of goods [illegible] of different aspects of [illegible] a store has to offer. [illegible] of the [illegible] of different lines [illegible]. The former proved too complex for this study and the latter is really a function of store size which is much better reflected in total floor area. Initially I thought parking facilities might be a good criterion for [illegible] but after testing it was determined that the amount of off-street parking was a function of both location and size of store. The number of employees and cash registers were also discarded. The former because of the large number of part-time employees and the latter because several stores appeared very similar except in the number of cash registers they contained. Finally, although some stores [illegible] in adjoining quarters with [illegible], this arrangement was not so [illegible] as to warrant being used as a [illegible] for [illegible]. The use of floor area was justified as [illegible] stores with one thousand square feet of floor space are

always having similar characteristics, were generally quite alike when tested against the above criteria which were rejected as the sole bases for definition.

DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD STORES

Supermarkets

There are thirteen food stores in Metropolitan Victoria which have more than ten thousand square feet (Figure 13). Six of these are located in the City of Victoria, four in Saanich and one each in Esquimalt, Sidney and the Unorganized Territory. Eight of these are owned by Canada Safeway, two by Shop-Easy, two by department stores (Eaton's and Woodward's) and one by a Chinese independent. The dominance of Safeway is very evident. They tend to locate on major arterials usually in planned community shopping centres. Four of their eight stores in this category are situated in Victoria, two in Saanich, one in Esquimalt and one in Sidney. Stores in Victoria have been in operation the longest and in several instances old Safeway stores have been torn down and replaced by new structures on the same site. Shop-Easy seek similar types of locations although they have had a difficult time breaking into the Victoria market because of the early dominance by Safeway in the forties. Seven of the eight Safeway stores, both Shop-Easy establishments and Woodward's are located in planned centres.


DISTRIBUTION OF SUPERMARKETS
— MUNCIPAL BOUNDARY
• FOOD STORE
Source: Fieldwork, Summer, 1968
Deep Cove
Shoal Harbour
Patricia Bay
Bazan Bay
Saanich Inlet
Saanichtan Bay
Brentwood Bay
Haro Strait
Elk Lake
Cordova Bay
N
Cadboro Bay
Oak Bay
Esquimalt Harbour
Victoria Harbour
Juan De Fuca Strait
0 1 2 3 4 miles
Figure 13

Only one, Woodward's, is located in a regional centre. Eaton's is located in the Central Business District and both the eighth Safeway store and Oakcrest (the Chinese independent) are found in well established unplanned community centres. To summarize, supermarkets in Victoria are found in medium range shopping centres, predominantly planned in nature and located at the junction of or on major arterials.

Large Food Markets

Large food markets are quite evenly distributed throughout the most populated sectors of the Metropolitan Area (Figure 14). Exceptions occur infrequently when two stores are situated in close proximity to each other. This is the highest order store in Oak Bay, Central Saanich and North Saanich. As was the case with supermarkets, Victoria and Saanich have equal numbers of large food markets. Each have nine, while the Unorganized Territory has seven, Oak Bay, Sidney and Esquimalt four each and North Saanich and Central Saanich one each. This pattern is as might be expected in terms of population distribution in the Metropolitan Area. On a per capita basis though, Oak Bay, Esquimalt, Sidney and the Unorganized Territory have far more stores. For the most part stores in this group consist of large independents who frequently participate in voluntary chain organizations such as the Independent Grocer's

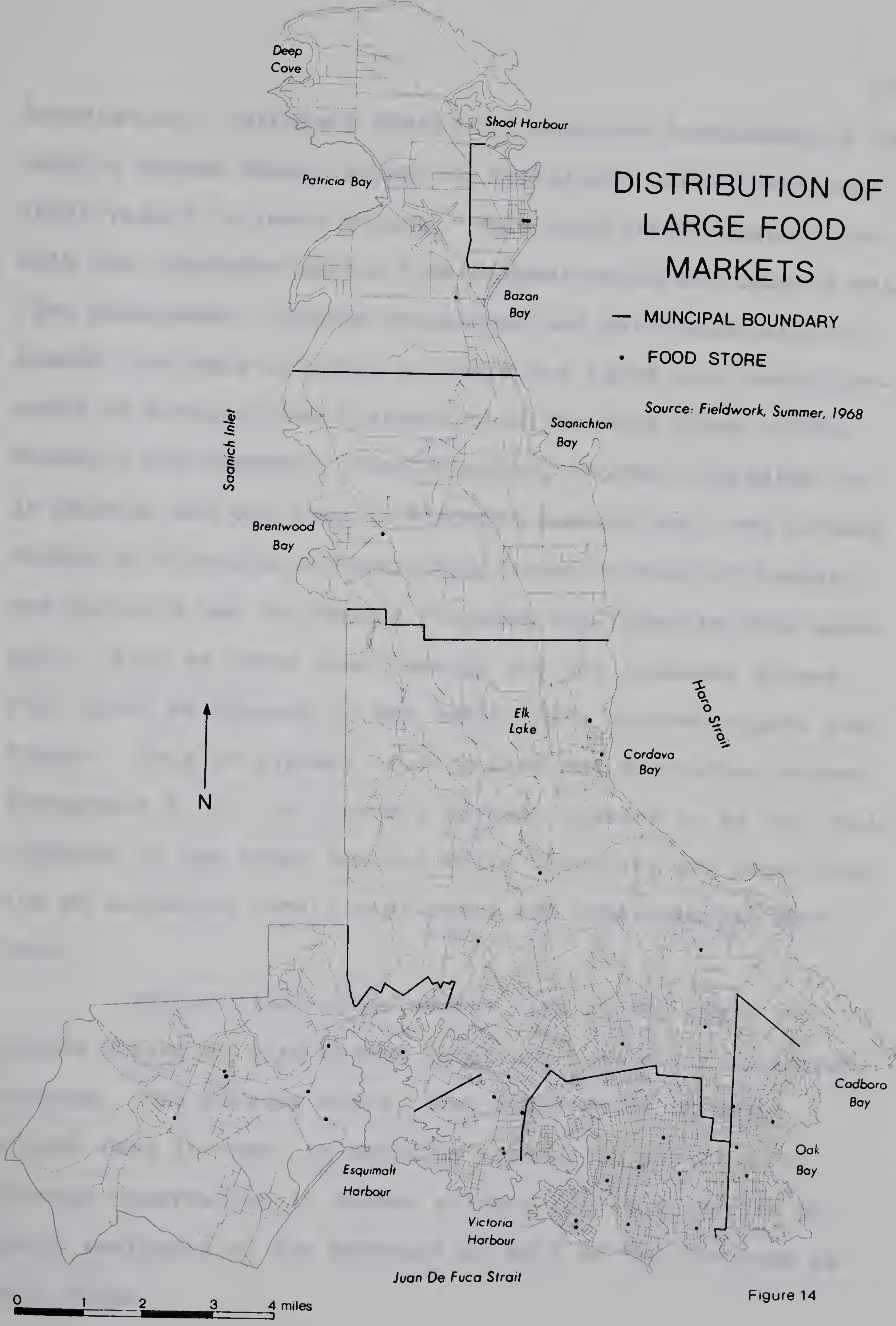

DISTRIBUTION OF
LARGE FOOD
MARKETS
MUNCIPAL BOUNDARY
FOOD STORE
Source: Fieldwork, Summer, 1968
Deep
Cove
Shoal Harbour
Patricia Bay
Bazan
Bay
Saanich Inlet
Saanichton
Bay
Brentwood
Bay
Haro Strait
Elk
Lake
Cordava
Bay
N
Cadboro
Bay
Oak
Bay
Esquimalt
Harbour
Victoria
Harbour
Juan De Fuca Strait
0
1
2
3
4 miles

Figure 14

Association. Voluntary chains are operated independently but carry a common banner mainly to facilitate larger purchases which result in lower prices. This facilitates competition with the corporate chains like Safeway which are under a unified management. Chains themselves are not completely excluded from this category as there are eight such establishments in Metropolitan Victoria plus the food floor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Four Shop-Easy stores, including two in Saanich and one each in Victoria and Oak Bay, two Safeway stores in Victoria, a Super-Valu store in each of Saanich and Victoria and the Bay in Victoria are found in this category. Most of these lean towards the ten thousand square foot level as opposed to the twenty-five hundred square foot figure. This is typical of Shop-Easy and Super-Valu stores throughout B. C. In Victoria Safeway appears to be the chain oriented to the urban dweller while Shop-Easy and Super-Valu aim at capturing rural, semi-rural and some suburban markets.

Unlike first order stores five of the eight corporate chains at this second level are located in unplanned centres. One Safeway store, just under seven thousand square feet in area, is actually located in the C. B. D. Through observation it became evident the store serves elderly residents of the downtown as well as the downtown labour force.

[illegible]. Vancouver [illegible] independently [illegible] [illegible] with the corporate chains like Safeway which are under a unified management. [illegible] from this category [illegible] in Metropolitan Victoria [illegible] Hudson's Bay Company, [illegible] in Victoria and [illegible] Victoria and the Bay, [illegible] in Victoria, [illegible] and Victoria and the Bay in Victoria are found in this category. Most of these [illegible] in the twenty-five [illegible]. This is typical of [illegible] throughout B. C. In Victoria [illegible] [illegible].

Unlike first order [illegible] of the other commercial centres at this second level are located in [illegible] centres. [illegible] square feet in area, is actually located in the [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] as well as the [illegible] own lines.

The thirty remaining stores found at this level are mainly oriented to arterial roads in unplanned shopping centres. As the size of the store decreases so does the likelihood that it will be found in a planned centre. Those stores in areas such as Brentwood, Sidney and the Unorganized Territory are frequently the destination of weekly or bi-weekly rural food shoppers. Through informal discussions I was able to determine that these people feel there is just a little more of the friendly personal touch in the smaller store. This opinion predominates even where a corporate chain and an independent store are the same size.

Small Food Markets

Small food markets range in size from one thousand to twenty-five hundred square feet. There are seventy-six in Metropolitan Victoria with most of them situated in the City of Victoria and Saanich. There are twenty-nine in Victoria, twenty in Saanich, ten in the Unorganized Territory, five each in Esquimalt and Oak Bay, three each in North and Central Saanich and only one in Sidney (Figure 15). Because of the concentration of population in Victoria and Saanich it should be expected that more stores of this size would be found there. It is not surprising that Sidney has only one such store because of the large number in the previous category servicing a rural population who shop

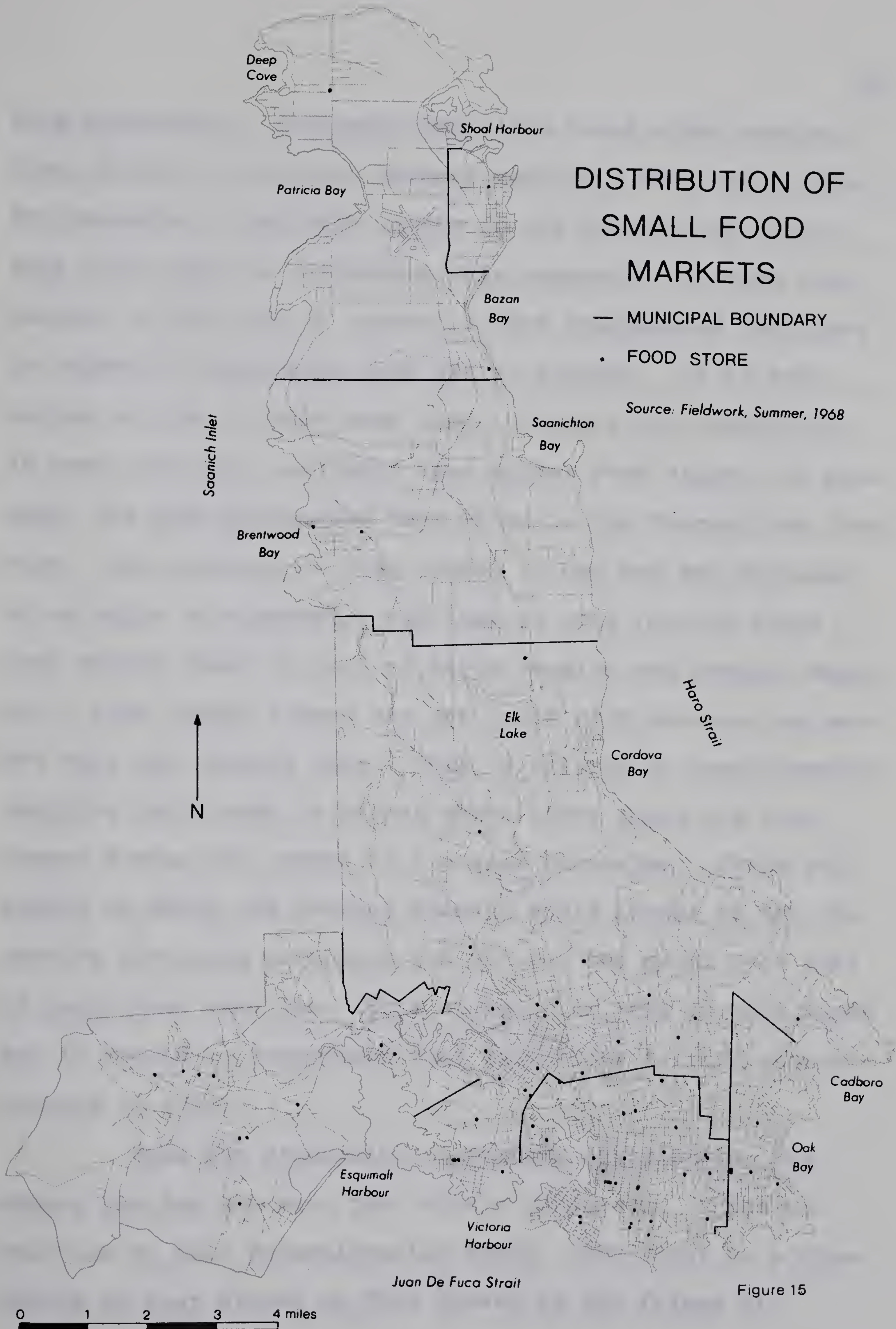

DISTRIBUTION OF SMALL FOOD MARKETS
— MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY
• FOOD STORE
Source: Fieldwork, Summer, 1968
Deep Cove
Shoal Harbour
Patricia Bay
Bazan Bay
Saanichton Bay
Saanich Inlet
Brentwood Bay
Elk Lake
Haro Strait
Cordova Bay
N
Cadboro Bay
Oak Bay
Esquimalt Harbour
Victoria Harbour
Juan De Fuca Strait
0 1 2 3 4 miles

Figure 15

less frequently. Although there is a local urban population, Sidney is oriented towards serving a much wider area. The presence of ten such stores in the Unorganized Territory would seem to contradict this argument. It does not, because of the lack of control in the Unorganized Territory in regard to commercial land use in general. It is much easier to open a store here than in Sidney but observation in many instances indicates that Sidney food stores, in general, are more prosperous than those in the Unorganized Territory. The location of five stores in Oak Bay and Esquimalt is as might be expected. The same is true for the three food stores found in each of North Saanich and Central Saanich. More larger stores are not found here because the market will not support them. This is related to less frequent shopping trips made to Sidney where other goods are purchased during the course of the same excursion. These six stores in North and Central Saanich would likely be the objective for large purchases but not for the major food bill of individual families. This at least is true in most cases but it should be recognized that exceptions to this generalization do exist.

From the standpoint of general distribution the stores are for the most part widely dispersed. Three exceptions to this generalization occur. The first is a clustering of four stores on Fort Street on the fringe of

Victoria's Central Business District. Each is run by Chinese and attracts mainly a transient market. In some instances they are used by the downtown labour force in obtaining convenience goods until the major shopping trip is made. They are all open on Sunday and comparison shopping is carried out particularly for fresh flowers which are a pleasant and profitable part of their business. The latter is particularly true because of their proximity to St. Joseph's Hospital. The second cluster consists of three stores and is located in the major shopping area of the Municipality of Esquimalt. The third concentration is only relative in nature because there are other groups of stores situated just as close together in the fully built up areas. It occurs in Langford on Goldstream Avenue in the major shopping district of the Unorganized Territory. The presence of these stores in major shopping areas certainly indicates that although the retail food industry is decentralizing there is not a complete move in this direction. It is mainly a phenomenon of the large chain organizations who admittedly do control a large part of the market. These stores by existing in such centres are oriented towards arterials as are most of the remainder. This is true of both the urban and rural situations.

Small food markets, although independently owned as in the previous category, are often associated with

voluntary chain organizations. They are obligated in carrying the chain banner to maintain a pleasant looking as well as an efficient operation which is so often not typical of corner shops. They frequently provide delivery service and many of the owners at this level have aspirations of expanding their stores. In spite of their desires such operators seldom advance beyond expanding to a second order store. That this can be done and on occasion even carried one step further is evidenced by Mr. Eng owner and operator of Oakcrest Foods. This is a first order food store whose owner is more aware of efficient and effective merchandising techniques than many corporate chain managers. The proof is in his success.

The trend away from location in a planned centre with decreasing size continues in this category. The smaller stores at this level are frequently located in unplanned neighbourhood centres although on occasion they can be found in larger unplanned centres. When the latter occurs there is frequently a corner shop in the cluster and in some instances a food store of a higher order. At times there may be more than one store of this size located in close proximity. Larger stores in this category are usually found in larger centres. In urban areas some people still tend to make their major purchases in these third order stores. The frequency of this occurrence also tends to de-

cline with size since the selection of goods declines. This is particularly true of meat purchases, which, because of a lack of rapid turnover are often lacking here.

Corner Stores

The examination of fourth order stores in Metropolitan Victoria constitutes the major objective of this paper. They have one thousand square feet or less and are more numerous than any other order in Metropolitan Victoria (Figure 12). At a very general level they are noticeably concentrated in the City of Victoria (Figure 16). Forty-seven of the ninety-one stores in the Metropolitan Area are found in the City of Victoria while Saanich and Oak Bay have twenty-one and eleven respectively, Sidney and Esquimalt have three each and North Saanich and Central Saanich each have one. The Unorganized Territory contains four corner stores.

Fourth level stores are located in the areas of densest population as well as in low income older residential districts. This is evident when comparing Figures 17, 18 and 19. Although there are problems in showing data by fixed areas, particularly population data, these maps clearly show approximate areas of concentration. Tracts 2 and 3 for example, have more corner stores than any other area of the City. They also have relatively large popula-

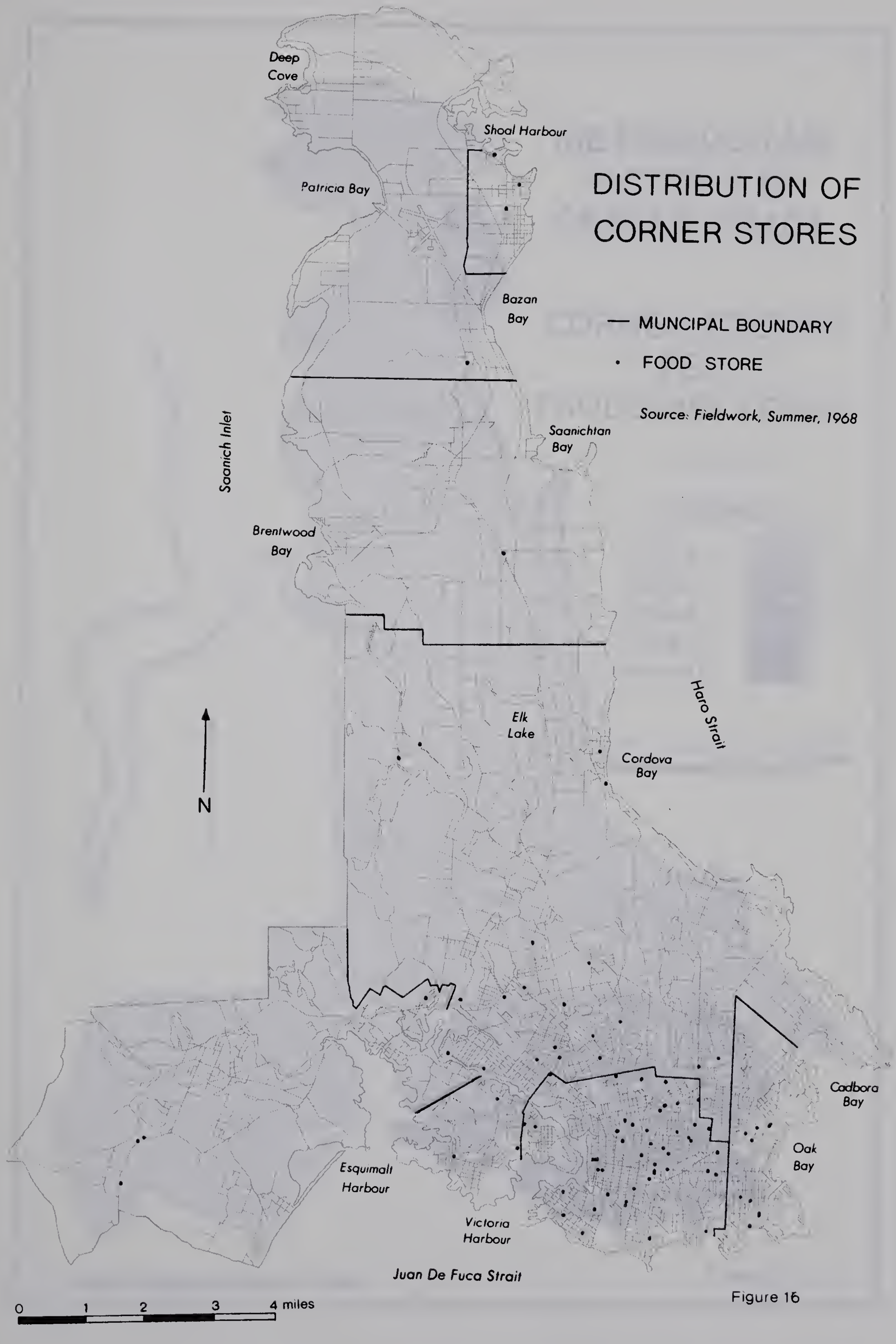
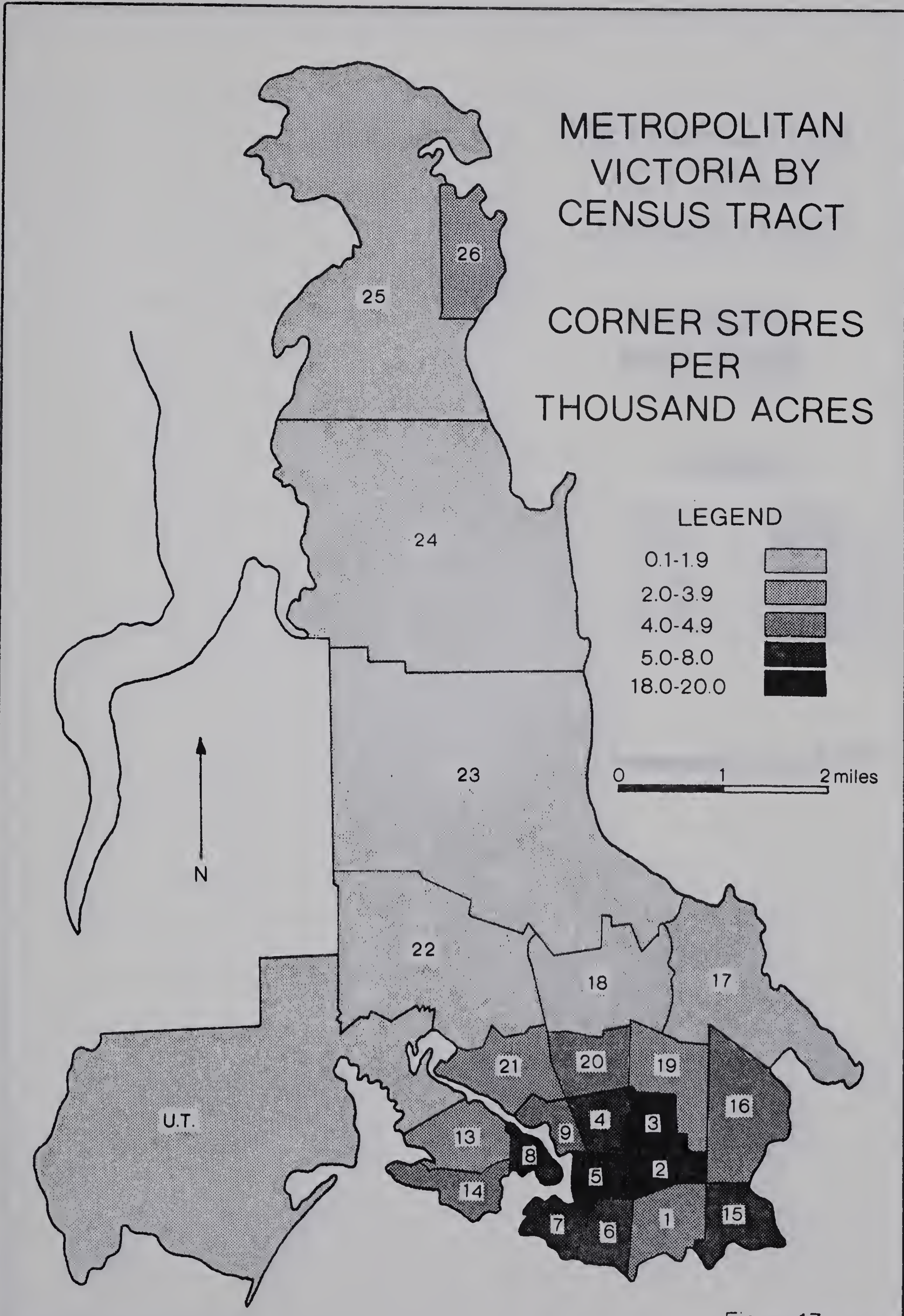
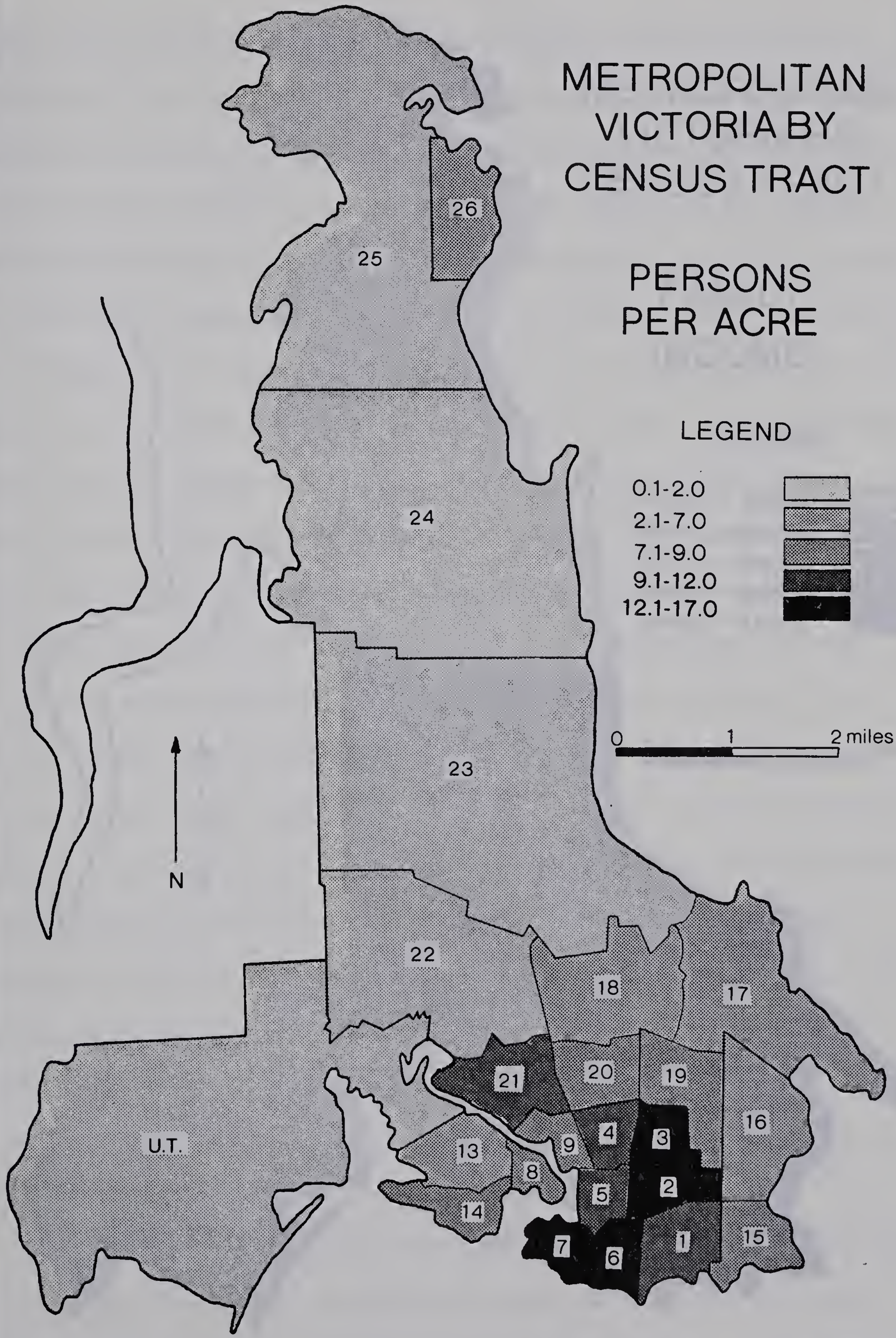

DISTRIBUTION OF CORNER STORES
MUNCIPAL BOUNDARY
FOOD STORE
Source: Fieldwork, Summer, 1968
Deep Cove
Shoal Harbour
Patricia Bay
Bazan Bay
Saanich Inlet
Saanichtan Bay
Brentwood Bay
Haro Strait
Elk Lake
Cordova Bay
N
Cadboro Bay
Oak Bay
Esquimalt Harbour
Victoria Harbour
Juan De Fuca Strait
0
1
2
3
4 miles

Figure 16



Source: Fieldwork, Summer, 1968

Figure 17



Source: D.B.S., 1966

Figure 18

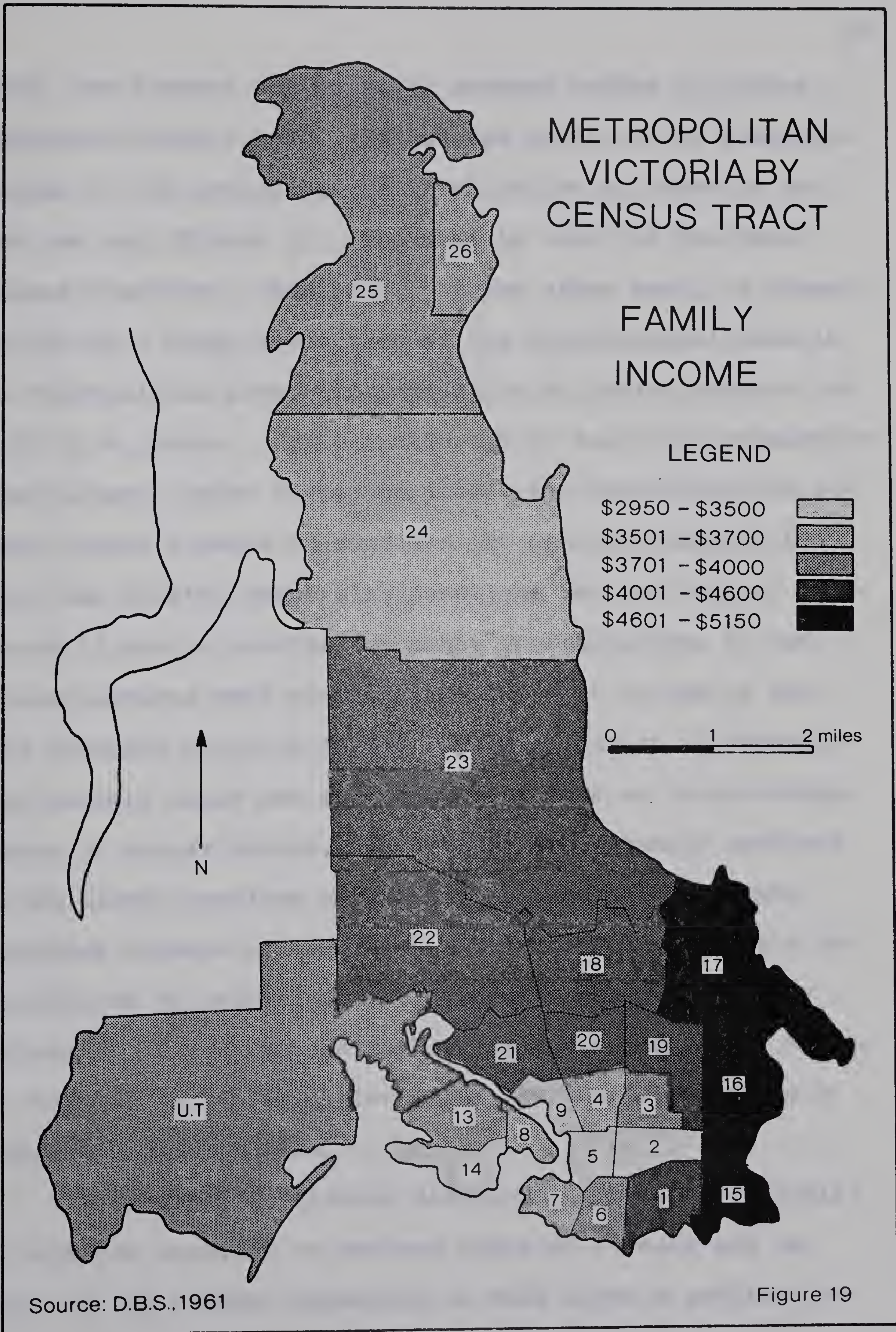

METROPOLITAN VICTORIA BY CENSUS TRACT
FAMILY INCOME
LEGEND
$2950 - $3500
$3501 - $3700
$3701 - $4000
$4001 - $4600
$4601 - $5150
0
1
2 miles
N
26
25
24
23
22
18
17
21
20
19
16
U.T
13
9
4
3
8
5
2
14
7
6
1
15
Source: D.B.S., 1961

Figure 19

tions, low incomes and an above average number of houses constructed before 1920. Few stores exist on the Peninsula because of its predominantly rural nature as shown by the land use map (Figure 9). The same is true for the Unorganized Territory. Esquimalt, on the other hand, is characterized by a large proportion of the institutional uses in the Metropolitan Area - in particular an Indian Reserve and H. M. C. S. Naden. Tract 5, although it has a low population density, has a large number of stores and relatively low average income because it contains the Central Business District and related commercial functions for the region. Tracts 15 and 16 provide the major contradictions to the generalizations made previously. Tract 16 is one of the most recently built up in the region and Tract 15 contains many stately homes and yet both areas have an above average number of corner stores. The stores are actually confined to the oldest portions of the Tracts and appear to have persisted because of the large number of elderly people who are willing to patronize them. Corner stores are mainly restricted to southern Saanich, Victoria and Oak Bay, where, in terms of the total region, they are characterized by a dispersed concentration.

In order to discuss distribution more specifically in terms of location on various kinds of streets and in terms of the stores' proximity to each other a qualitative

model was devised (Figure 20). It accounts for any pattern of distribution or location which might arise. Its basis is store location on different levels of streets and the kind of situation in which the corner store finds itself in relation to other commercial development and other corner stores. The model considers three levels of streets; neighbourhood, residential arterial and major arterial. A neighbourhood street carries no through traffic and is physically quite narrow. A residential arterial is designed to provide access between different parts of one sector of a city. A major arterial carries people between regions in the city and also between cities. The commercial structure of cities was divided into three classes; isolation, clusters and ribbon development. In doing this all shopping centres including the C. B. D. are considered as cluster developments of varying size. The system provides for twelve types of location. Corner stores may be found on neighbourhood streets either in isolation or side by side. They may be found on residential arterials in cluster developments either in isolation or side by side or they may be found on these arterials in isolation or in a group of two or more. Corner stores also exist on major arterials in ribbon and cluster developments, in isolation or in groups of two or more. In addition these stores may be found in isolation or in groups of two or more in both

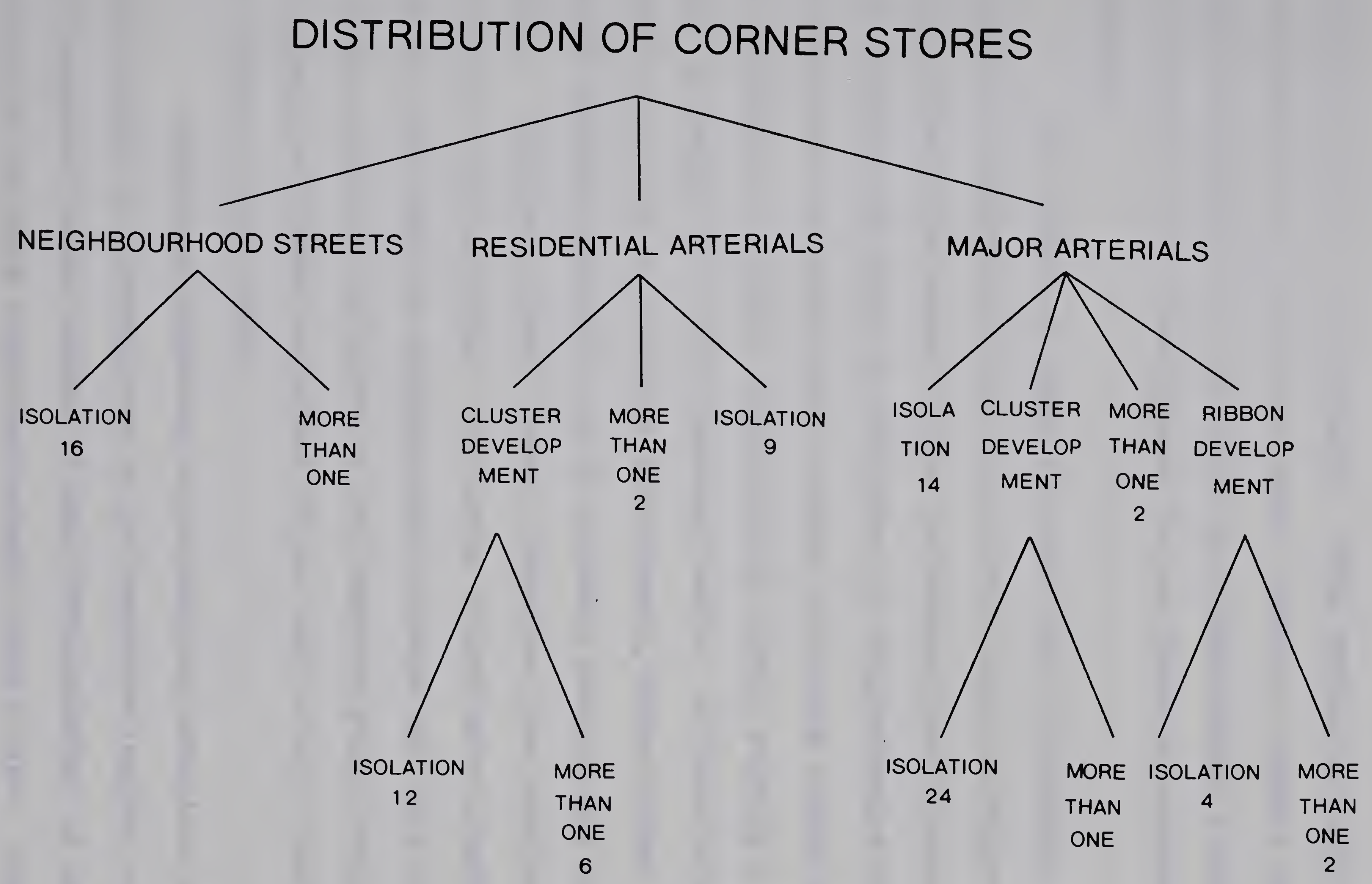

DISTRIBUTION OF CORNER STORES
NEIGHBOURHOOD STREETS
RESIDENTIAL ARTERIALS
MAJOR ARTERIALS
ISOLATION 16
MORE THAN ONE
CLUSTER DEVELOP MENT
MORE THAN ONE 2
ISOLATION 9
ISOLA TION 14
CLUSTER DEVELOP MENT
MORE THAN ONE 2
RIBBON DEVELOP MENT
ISOLATION 12
MORE THAN ONE 6
ISOLATION 24
MORE THAN ONE
ISOLATION 4
MORE THAN ONE 2

Figure 20

ribbon and cluster developments. This system is valid only if two basic assumptions are made. Firstly, cluster and ribbon developments do not occur on neighbourhood streets and secondly ribbon development is not found on residential arterials.

The number of cases for each type of location is indicated immediately below the location type in Figure 20. Of the ninety-one corner stores in Metropolitan Victoria only sixteen are found in isolation on neighbourhood streets. This refutes the traditional concept that most corner stores are situated on a quiet neighbourhood street serving a small group of people on a very personal basis. Of these sixteen stores nine were in the City of Victoria, three in Oak Bay, two in southern Saanich, one in northern Saanich and one in Sidney. Isolated corner stores, therefore, are confined to the older built up areas. No corner stores were located next to each other on neighbourhood streets but this situation can occur as was shown in the Edmonton Pilot Study. This group of stores comprises 18 per cent of all fourth order stores in the region.

Commercial clusters on residential arterials are quite common in Victoria and it is therefore logical to expect numerous corner stores in such developments. A second meaning of the word isolation reveals itself here. Isolation previously referred to a single food store with no other

establishment in close proximity. Isolation in cluster developments refers only to corner stores and not to other commercial functions. Twelve stores were found in cluster developments on residential arterials. Seven of these are in the City of Victoria and the remaining five are in southern Saanich. Three clusters on residential arterials have two stores while one isolated location has two stores. In addition nine stores are found in complete isolation on residential arterials and all but two of these are located in the City of Victoria. The remainder are found in Sidney and Oak Bay.

Fourteen isolated stores exist on major arterials. Five are in Victoria, two in Oak Bay and the remainder are dispersed throughout the region. More corner stores are found isolated in cluster developments on major arterials than in any other kind of location. In total twenty-five stores are classified in this manner. Nine are in Saanich and ten in Victoria with the remainder dispersed throughout the study area. There are no examples of more than one store being situated in a cluster development on a major arterial and only in one case are two stores situated next to each other in isolation on a major arterial. Few corner stores are found in ribbon developments in Victoria. Only four could be found in isolation and only one case in which two stores were situated next to each other on a ribbon

street could be found.

In total thirty-nine stores (43 per cent) were found in complete isolation, forty-two stores (46 per cent) in cluster developments, four stores (4.5 per cent) isolated from other commercial development but next to another corner store and six stores (6.5 per cent) on ribbon streets. This breakdown only applies to Victoria although a similar situation might be expected in other cities. If any differences were to occur one would not expect the overall relationships to change. A reduction in the number of stores in isolation and cluster developments might be expected with a resultant increase in the number found on ribbon streets. This is the case because Victoria, unlike many cities, is not plagued with serious ribbon problems. There are commercial strips but they are not expanding out of control. The orientation of a large number of stores toward arterials is mainly a result of the spreading use of the automobile. In past years when corner stores were first constructed they may very well have been on neighbourhood streets. None the less, because of the large number of stores oriented towards arterials the traditional picture of the small isolated store is distorted. The form and function of these shops is examined in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER 3

CORNER STORE FORM

ATTRIBUTES OF CORNER STORE FORM IN VICTORIA

It is the physical form of corner shops which causes most of the complaints about their location in residential areas. This chapter is devoted to an examination of the physical characteristics of corner shops and their effect on surrounding neighbourhoods. Physical blight is the term used by Berry (1963) to describe poor physical condition and frictional blight refers to the effect a building has on its surrounding uses. Frictional blight can also occur in the reverse in terms of the effect surrounding uses have on a business. This analysis of form is based solely on interviews with wholesalers and on operator and residential questionnaires discussed in the Introduction and included in the Appendix. Seventy-three operators were successfully interviewed and 177 residential questionnaires returned.

Building Age

The historical development of the food store pattern was outlined in Chapter one but no precise reference was made to building age. Most corner stores have adjoining residential quarters but store and house may not have been

CHAPTER [illegible]

CORNER STORE FORM

ATTRIBUTES OF CORNER STORE FORM IN VICTORIA

It is the physical form of corner shops which [illegible] most of the complaints about their location in residential areas. This chapter is devoted to an examination of the physical characteristics of corner shops and their effect on surrounding neighbourhoods. Physical blight is the term used by Berry (1963) to describe poor physical condition and functional blight refers to the effect a building has on its surrounding area. [illegible] blight [illegible] also occur in the [illegible] of the [illegible] surrounding [illegible] as a nuisance. This analysis of form is based mainly on interviews with storekeepers and an appraisal and residential questionnaire discussed in the introduction and included in the Appendix. Seventy-three interviews were successfully carried out and 457 residential questionnaires returned.

BUILDING AGE

The historical development of the first stores [illegible] that was outlined in Chapter [illegible] but no specific reference was made to building age. Most corner stores [illegible] residential quarters but [illegible]

constructed at the same time. The ages given here refer to the actual age of the portion of the structure used for retail purposes. This may or may not correspond to the age of the living quarters depending on whether the store is part of the residential structure which has been converted or whether it is a new addition. Store age, therefore, may or may not correspond to the age of the living quarters. It was not possible to determine through municipal records if a difference existed nor was it possible to determine this from the owners because of the frequency of ownership change.

Corner shops exist mainly in very old buildings. Only one existed in a structure which was less than ten years old. Thirty-eight stores were in buildings ranging in age from thirty to sixty years and seventeen in structures sixty to eighty years old. There was no relationship between age and location. Newer stores do tend to be larger. Older buildings blend more poorly with their surroundings than newer buildings and they are also characterized by excessive advertising.

Construction Materials

Most corner stores in the study area are characterized by wood frame construction. Because of its relevance in terms of blend with the surroundings, stores were classified according to their exterior finish. The classification

simply consisted of wood, stucco, concrete and other. A surprisingly large number of stores were finished with some form of stucco or plaster (forty-four) while twenty-seven had wood exteriors. Older buildings tend to be constructed of wood while newer structures are more often finished with stucco (Plates 5 and 6). Wood buildings tend to be in worse shape than stucco but in some instances blend more effectively with their environment than the stucco structures. The latter is true because the wooden structures are often integrated more effectively with the residential quarters while the stucco buildings tend to stand apart from their immediate surroundings. Proportionately, there are more stucco buildings in Saanich and Oak Bay but Victoria, being developed first, has almost an equal number of both.

Store Size

It has already been determined that corner shops have one thousand square feet or less. This was illustrated in Figure 12, Chapter two. There is nothing significant about their distribution over the continuum from two hundred to one thousand square feet. Eleven corner stores in the Metropolitan Area have less than four hundred square feet and from there to one thousand square feet they are quite evenly distributed. There is no significant relationship between store size and location.

Plate 5. False fronts are typical of some older wood structures in Victoria. They are at times in poor physical condition as is exemplified by this photograph. This particular store is situated in an older portion of the City.

Plate 6. The original corner store located on this site burned down. The new structure, slightly larger than the original, was reconstructed several years ago. The store is still attached to the house and its design is not very pleasing.

Store Interior

A complaint that is often made about corner stores is about the confused nature of their interior. Very often many goods are packed into a small space making them difficult to find without the owner's assistance. Many people like to pick out what they want by themselves. There is a wide variation in the condition of store interiors and the difference is best reflected in nationality. Chinese operators (of whom twenty-eight were interviewed) tend to pile as much on shelves as possible - at times having their goods overflow in the aisles. Operators of other nationalities, particularly Canadian and British, tend in most cases not to display as many goods on their shelves resulting in a less confusing shopping situation.

In large chain stores, offices are frequently situated at an upper level so the entire floor can be seen. This helps to prevent shoplifting. They also frequently make use of elaborate mirror systems but hopefully not to the point where the individual shopper has the feeling that he is being watched. Plagued with theft, particularly from children, many corner shop owners have shown initiative in installing at least two large mirrors in their shops so they can see the entire floor from wherever the cash register is situated. This is a characteristic of the more progressive owners who are trying to improve their businesses.

Unlike the larger food stores there is no real regularity to interior shape. Frequently the retail space is rectangular but more often it is quite odd in shape - usually a result of conversion. Inevitably the front door is situated next to the cash register and the entrance to living quarters, when they are present, is at the rear of the store. The cash register location adjacent to the front door is very convenient for people leaving their car engine running and rushing in to purchase convenience goods. Artificial lighting is always required because windows are usually covered with signs advertising specials or are partially concealed by displayed merchandise. In most cases there are no shopping baskets because the store is too small to warrant them, the aisles are too narrow to handle them or there is no room to store them. In most cases there is no need for them. Corner shops are not as bright and cheerful in their interior design as their larger competitors but the atmosphere is frequently just as pleasant.

<u>Storage Facilities</u>

Traditionally, storage facilities have been an integral part of small food store operations but recently the trend is away from provision for such space. Merchants prefer to display all of their wares. This is very evident in regard to the surveyed corner stores. Eighty-two per cent

said their storage space was adequate and yet some had none at all, others had minimal amounts. Storage space, according to the operators, is no longer required because they can get daily delivery from most wholesalers for most items. Because of more frequently required delivery, wholesalers are forced to raise their prices. Small owners do not seem to be aware of this as complaints regarding high wholesale prices were quite commonly found in the study area. Because they continue to buy in such small quantities and shrug it off, they are in effect raising their own prices.

Examples were found where storage space had recently been converted to retail space in an attempt to do more business. Usually the expected increase had not taken place, or if it had, only a marginal gain had occurred. Also, when this happens, it contributes to an untidy appearance so far as the rest of the store and the building as a whole are concerned. This was evidenced by old boxes at the rear and side of the structures (Plate 7) and in some cases by cartons in the actual retail area. Frequently, when the store and living quarters were attached it was possible to see into the living quarters from the front of the store. Often cartons were being stored in the kitchen contributing to an untidy homelife which was frequently reflected in the appearance of the entire property. Limited evidence was also found indicating that storage facilities had been converted into

Plate 7. Residents in the immediate vicinity of this store were rightfully critical of its backyard. Empty pop cases and rubbish were strewn throughout the property. In this case it is surprising because the store itself, the small parking lot and the fence surrounding the backyard are quite pleasant.

living space. This was particularly noticed where young Chinese operators with several children had just bought a store and needed more living space.

Storage facilities, when present, are usually situated between the retail area and living facilities. If not here they are often in the basement of the living quarters. The amount of storage space, therefore, often determines the appearance of the property as a whole.

Relationship Between Store and Living Quarters

Eighty-six per cent of the corner stores in the study area had living quarters attached, nine were situated very near the store and one was a considerable distance away. The fact that living quarters are attached is a remnant from past days which permits the family type operation to remain. Such stores, to maintain long hours, must be operated on a family basis. One man alone in a store, twelve hours a day, seven days a week, could not run the business. He needs the help of his wife and in many cases his children. The easiest way to get this help is to have the house attached to the store.

Contrary to the European situation a majority of stores are not the result of conversion from residential to commercial use as shown in Plate 8. Had this been the case aesthetic problems would have been greatly reduced. In-

stead, retail facilities have been added to house fronts sometimes taking over part of the house and thus resulting in odd shaped store interiors. The houses were originally set back far enough to allow this change to take place. This results in an odd looking structure being tacked on to the front of the house and spanning in most cases almost to the edge of the sidewalk or the street (Plate 9). Consequently, rather than having a structure which looks like a house a very odd shaped building is often the result.

Parking Space

Parking facilities are lacking near most corner stores as forty-one use only the street (Plate 9). Another fifteen simply have a street indentation (Plate 10) while seventeen have a parking lot (Plate 11). The lack of parking facilities is also a remnant from days when the automobile was not used so extensively. Such stores when situated on arterials, add to congestion and reduce the efficiency of the commercial pattern. These stores on neighbourhood streets do not require parking space because most people still walk to the stores. Although they are not necessary, with a tremendously mobile population there are signs of people using their cars to travel even shorter distances. Because some stores do have such facilities it brings the whole function of corner stores to question. Parking space in residential

Plate 8. Converted stores on the whole are more pleasing to the eye than those which take the form of additions to house fronts. The store shown in this photograph exemplifies this fact.

Plate 9. Because this building is tacked on to the house it creates a cluttered appearance on the property. Parking problems are also prevalent around this store. The street is already narrow and non-residential parking only contributes to congestion.

Plate 10. Street indentations for parking are frequently an excellent compromise between unsightly parking lots and traffic congestion which often results when no facilities are present.

Plate 11. Parking space found in association with this store is typical of that found around stores in outlying areas. Lower density residential development makes such space less conspicuous.

neighbourhoods in the form of special land set aside and blacktopped does not contribute to the maintenance of a pleasant residential environment. It can also encourage loitering on the part of young people with cars as was the case on occasion in the study area. Whether or not a parking space is provided is also a function of land cost and available space. This is obvious since few stores in Victoria had parking lots whereas eleven of thirteen interviewed in Saanich had them. Thirty-three of the forty stores in Victoria have only street space while no stores in Saanich have curb indentations. Space, when the stores were built or converted was easier to acquire in Saanich. Most stores just have street parking space but of those which have an off-street parking facility British and Canadian stores are most common. Stores with more regular customers also tend to have greater amounts of off-street parking.

Advertising

Excessive advertising has also been a frequent complaint of many people living near small stores situated in predominantly residential areas. Store windows covered in atrocious signs and litter from confectionery goods thrown around the store all contribute to the poor image the corner store has managed to achieve (Plate 12). This image in many cases cannot be applied to existing stores. In the study

Plate 12. The signs shown here except for the name of the store are completely unnecessary. Scatterings of litter can also be seen in the foreground. The store otherwise would settle quite nicely into the surrounding backdrop of trees.

area stores were arbitrarily classified according to whether the amount of advertising they were responsible for was excessive, effective or average. Excessive advertising was usually caused by large numbers of pop and cigarette signs while effective advertising occurred when these signs were kept to a minimum in number and size and when they blended with the building and the neighbourhood. On this basis it was determined that 26 per cent of the stores were characterized by excessive advertising and 56 per cent were considered average. On the other hand 18 per cent were considered to have effective advertising.

Stores which have changed hands recently are more characterized by excessive advertising. Those stores with excessive advertising tend to be busiest at night while those busiest in the afternoon have more effective advertising. Stores with excess advertising blend poorly with their surroundings. Those with average amounts of advertising generally blend only fair or poorly with their environment. Seven of the thirteen stores with effective advertising are in Oak Bay where eleven shop operators were interviewed (Plate 13). Saanich is average in this regard and Victoria has twelve of the nineteen stores with excessive advertising (twenty-six are average).

The most flagrant abuse of signs comes from cigarette and soft drink companies who usually advertise near

Plate 13. Oak Bay Produce, one of the newest corner stores in Metropolitan Victoria is an illustration of what can be achieved. No advertising, except the store name, appears on the store which is very well maintained by two Chinese sisters.

the name of the store, on bicycle stands or on exterior walls. This is probably a cheap way of getting a sign or bicycle rack for a store but it is not a very attractive feature of these establishments. Also, windows are often covered with signs advertising specials but they are usually to little avail since people do not make purchases of this kind at corner shops. Such signs are often poorly made. Also, the sale price in the corner store is barely equal to the regular price in the chain. People come to such a store for convenience not in search of lower prices.

Degree of Blend With Surroundings

Buildings were also considered on the basis of their contribution to a livable environment. A four way arbitrary classification was devised consisting of good, average, fair and poor. Only thirteen stores could be considered as blending well with their surroundings and only nine were considered average. On the other hand twenty-eight were considered fair and twenty-three poor. The problem becomes obvious. Where advertising is excessive the amount of blend with surroundings is poor. It is those stores mainly in the oldest areas which prolong the bad image of the corner store.

Of the 177 people who completed questionnaires 90 per cent felt the corner store which they used was an attribute, in all respects, to the neighbourhood in which it was

situated. There are some contradictions here as will be seen later but they are related to my perception of attribute and the people I interviewed. Presumably all of those who felt the corner store was an attribute to the neighbourhood would be pleased or at least indifferent if one were placed next door to their house. This was not the case as these two categories combined comprised just 41 per cent of the total. Thirty-three per cent said they would be angry. It appears, therefore, that a corner store is a good thing to have in a neighbourhood provided it is not too close to your own home.

Twenty-four of the thirty-two stores which have changed hands since 1965 were considered either fair or poor in terms of degree of blend with surroundings. Those stores which are busiest in the afternoon also tend to blend well with their surroundings while those busiest in the evening have more in the fair and poor categories. Oak Bay has most of the buildings that blend well with their surroundings (eight of thirteen) and Victoria has most of the poor ones. Generally, those who complained said corner stores lowered the resale value of their houses, caused additional traffic and invaded their privacy. The extent to which corner stores are perceived as an attribute or a nuisance depends largely on the individuals' values and his shopping habits. A knowledge of their function, which is examined in the follow-

ing chapter, should provide some insight into their value to the owner and his customer.

CHAPTER 4

CORNER STORE FUNCTION

Corner stores have two main functions. They are a means of earning a living for the operator and they supply food to people in surrounding neighbourhoods. These functions never change since operators must earn a living and there is a constant demand for food. It is not the purpose of this section to investigate supply and demand but rather to examine how the operator conducts his business and how his customers react in the realm of the store's market area. This will be done firstly by examining operator function and secondly by investigating the function of the store for its customers. As in the previous chapter all material, qualitative and quantitative, was derived from the operator and residential questionnaires. One hundred seventy-seven residential questionnaires were returned from Census Tracts 2, 9 and 15 and from Enumeration Areas 76 and 81. Seventy-three corner store operators were interviewed throughout the Metropolitan Area.

OPERATOR FUNCTION

Ownership Trends

Inadequate experience and inability to cope with

modern business methods appear to be the most frequent causes of small business failures or at least their inefficient operation which often puts them on the verge of failure. Corner stores are no exception. The number of different occupations prior to taking over the stores are numerous. Only twenty operators had any previous experience in running a small food store or in working for a larger establishment of the same nature. Nine operators had previously worked in cafes while twenty had worked at some type of labouring job. Thirty-five per cent were placed into an other category which contains as diverse occupations as one could imagine.

The reasons for entering the business are also very diverse. Even previous experience in the business only accounted for 26 per cent of the cases. Most of those who said they had previous experience either owned a small store or worked in a larger store such as Eaton's or The Bay. The desire to own a business or at least to have no boss was not one of the major reasons given. It occurred only in 7 per cent of the cases. Almost 40 per cent indicated a wide variety of reasons other than those choices specifically given in the questionnaire. The stores, in many instances, are a source of income for persons who find it difficult to get a job elsewhere. It can be concluded that both background and reasons for entering the

business are very diverse and not very logical in terms of being optimistic about an efficient operation.

Even excluding stores which have been inherited, a large proportion of establishments have changed hands very recently. The average length of occupancy of present owners is approximately ten years and would be much longer were it not for the operators who took over before 1950. Almost half of the interviewed operators have taken over since 1965 (thirty-two) with twelve more commencing operation between 1961 and 1965. Sixteen others moved into their present stores between 1951 and 1960.

Chinese participation in corner stores is very evident. Of the thirty-two stores which have changed hands since 1965 sixteen have been bought or rented by Chinese. They form the largest single group. It is not just any Chinese who are entering the business but rather young Chinese. Of those starting since 1965 sixteen have been under forty years of age. Chinese are entering the business because they are lacking in education and skilled training. Many, however, are not overly happy in it and just want to raise and educate their families and leave. On the other hand, an increasing minority find running corner stores a pleasant occupation. Such stores also provide an outlet for new immigrants to get a start in Canadian living. Chinese do not mind working in stores long hours because many

women are recent immigrants from China where they are used to hard work. Most Chinese operators get started in one of two ways. Either they have a friend who has a successful and well established business in Victoria who goes to the bank and stands behind his friend, or a group of relations may finance a new man.

Since there are no new corner stores being constructed, and there is a large turnover in ownership, it is old shops which are being resold. It is mainly the Anglo-Saxon operator who is selling his store to the young Chinese. There is evidence that those who are selling would prefer to do so within their own nationality but frequently Chinese are willing to pay the asking price and on occasion they are the only prospective buyer. This is so because non-Chinese operators are aware of the influx of Chinese businessmen and would like to see it stopped. Racial prejudice even finds its place in the operation of corner shops.

Most corner stores are owned by the operator (67 per cent) the remainder (33 per cent) are leased or rented. Of the thirty-two changes since 1965 fifteen operators either rent or lease their shops - a surprisingly large number and considerably more than in the past. Longer time owners for the most part own their stores and Anglo-Saxon operators own more stores proportionately than Chi-

nese. Twenty-seven of thirty-four Anglo-Saxon operators own their own stores and only fourteen of twenty-eight Chinese own their own establishments. Most of the rented stores are in Victoria (fifteen of seventeen).

An attempt was made to determine how great a turnover in store ownership could be expected in the future. Forty-eight of the seventy-three operators interviewed appear to be entrenched in the business while twenty-two operators indicated they would be selling their stores by 1974. Eleven of these are operators who have taken over since 1965. This is a drop from the previous period (thirty-two in three years) but it should be considered as a conservative estimate since resales were not considered. The question is whether the stores will continue to function as corner shops or whether they will be taken over by other uses. This will depend on the number of Chinese waiting to enter the business and also on the availability of capital to them. The latter should not be much of a barrier.

Although there are fewer British owners, a larger percentage of them (83 per cent) plan on running their stores indefinitely. It is older people who are planning to leave in the near future. In Saanich there are no operators planning on leaving within six years - each of the thirteen interviewed are planning to stay on indefi-

nitely. Also, many of the owners in the outlying areas are planning to move soon while Victoria is characterized by fifteen who plan on doing so. The stores do not appear to be functioning as stepping stones to another job at present although indications were that a few Chinese had ideas about expansion.

Operator Characteristics

It has already been established that the background and experience of corner store operators is very diverse. So too are the number and age of operators. In the questionnaire survey any person who regularly served customers was considered to be a worker in the store. Forty-six per cent of the stores sampled had two people working in them - usually husband and wife. Eighteen per cent had one employee and 19 per cent had three. Two stores, truly family operations, each had five persons working in them. The number of people working in corner shops can change rapidly in young families as children grow older and are able to manage the responsibilities involved. Frequently this age is very early, particularly in Chinese families where it is not uncommon to find seven to ten year olds working in a store by themselves. In one or two instances it was such a young person who answered my questionnaire. One of the reasons they are put to work

at such an early age is because they can often speak English better than the mother who in some cases is left in charge while the husband attends to his second job. In other cases children are used to relieve the parents for rest, a necessity with the long hours of operation which are maintained.

Operator age is evenly dispersed between thirty and seventy and it is not possible to say, therefore, that one age group dominates. Whereas in the past a majority of operators were quite old, the stage has been reached where the number of young almost equals them. Although fifty-one to sixty years is the modal group (twenty-two operators), there are seventeen from thirty-one to forty, fifteen from forty-one to fifty and thirteen from sixty-one to seventy. There were also five operators between the ages of twenty-one and thirty. This is certainly indicative of the trend to younger ownership - particularly young Chinese. Of the twenty-eight Chinese operating corner stores eighteen are under forty. Two Canadian and no British can claim this.

Although Chinese participation in corner shop operations is increasing rapidly they have not yet taken over completely. This fact has been exaggerated since many of the recent take overs have been by Chinese people. The trend appears established though and almost complete

domination by Chinese at this level can be foreseen - that is if the stores last long enough and they probably will. At present 38 per cent of corner store operators are Chinese and 33 per cent are Canadian. Ten Englishmen are in the business and the remainder are truly a miscellaneous group.

Another characteristic of operators in the past has been their participation in a second job which they frequently considered more important than running the store. At present over 70 per cent of corner store operators do not have any income aside from their store. Twenty-three per cent have a second job. These are mainly Chinese operators. Those people who have been running their store for some time seldom have a second job. These people are also the older operators. Surprisingly enough people who own their own stores frequently have second jobs.

The major contrast with the past in respect of the function these stores have for the operator is that they are becoming a desirable kind of employment. People are entering the business because they want to rather than because they are forced into it. The stores, in the case of the Chinese operator, provide a means of supplementing his basic salary which is earned outside the home. They are also an outlet for new immigrants with little education

or skilled training in other occupations as was indicated previously. However, with the changing times these stores too are becoming more oriented towards efficient operation. This is because the operator is in the business to make as much money as he can.

PUBLIC FUNCTION

There are basically two alternate ways for discussing the questionnaire results as they relate to the function of corner shops for the public. The first would be to discuss the operator and residential questionnaires separately and the second is to discuss them concurrently by topic. The second method was chosen here because the questionnaire results are interrelated and any separation would appear too artificial and would result in repetition.

Hours of Operation

Corner stores in the past have opened for twelve to fourteen hours a day thus emphasizing their convenience to the public in terms of availability of general food stuffs at almost any time of the day. Although there is no empirical evidence as to hours of operation in the past, from conversations with owners it was possible to determine that hours of operation are changing. In the past most stores opened as early as 8:00 A.M. whereas now the trend is towards opening one and even two hours later

than this. Twelve per cent of the stores do not open until 10:00 A. M., 4 per cent at 9:30 A. M. and 47 per cent at 9:00 A. M. Thirty per cent of the stores still open at 8:00 A. M. but their numbers are rapidly declining. Those opening at earlier hours are usually located near schools or are situated in neighbourhoods with many children. However, the value of this market is being seriously questioned by many operators because of the nuisance they create when entering the stores in large numbers. Theft is also a problem. Therefore, many feel the nuisance cost exceeds the benefits and they open later. This is part of the desire expressed by Anglo-Saxon operators for more regular hours which is also reflected in closing times. The long hours are also a reason why Anglo-Saxon people are leaving the corner shop business in Victoria. In this regard, at present, Canadians tend to open their stores earlier than Chinese but are closing their stores much earlier as well. Since older people are characteristic of Anglo-Saxons in the business this is not surprising. It follows logically then that stores in Oak Bay close earlier than those in other parts of the city.

Closing times are more varied than opening hours but a definite pattern does emerge. The earliest closing time is 5:30 P. M. while the latest is twelve midnight. Both may be considered extremes. It appears that stores

that time. Twelve per cent of the stores do not open until 10:00 A. M., 6 per cent at 9:30 A. M. and 11 per cent at 9:00 A. M. Thirty per cent of the stores still open at 8:00 A. M. but their percents are rapidly declining. Those opening at earlier hours are usually located near schools or are situated in neighborhoods with many children. However, the value of this market is being seriously questioned by many operators because of the nuisance that results when gathering the stores in large numbers. There is also a problem. Therefore, many feel the extended cost exceeds the benefits and they open later. This is part of the pattern observed by Anglo-Saxon operators for more regular hours which is also reflected in closing times. The long hours are also a reason why Anglo-Saxon people are leaving the corner shop business in Victoria. In this regard, however, Cantonese tend to open their stores earlier than Italians but are closing their stores much earlier as well. These older people are representative of acculturation in the business that is not surprising. It follows logically that these stores in the new areas [illegible] in other parts of the city.

Closing times are more varied than opening times but a definite pattern does emerge. The earliest closing time is 5:30 P. M. while the latest is [illegible] both may be considered extremes. It appears that about

close at 6:00 P. M. or at 9:00 P. M. or 10:00 P. M. Sixteen stores or 22 per cent close at 6:00 P. M. while 51 per cent close at 9:00 P. M. or 10:00 P. M. The remainder are distributed throughout the continuum. Stores in Victoria tend to stay open slightly later than those in Oak Bay or Saanich.

Time of Shopping Trips

Since corner shops are open for extended periods of time it is possible for the prospective customer to select a time which is most convenient to him or her. But shopping trips to corner stores are not usually planned and therefore one would expect the shops to be visited at all times of the day or night with an emphasis on the evenings when other stores are closed. This is not the case in Victoria. Mornings are used primarily for housekeeping duties in the store. This includes receiving wholesalers, stocking shelves and sweeping the floor. Three stores did, however, say that mornings, from the standpoint of sales, were the busiest time of the day. What is surprising is that twenty-three stores or 35 per cent of the owners stated the afternoon as the busiest part of the day. This is not surprising when one considers that the busiest days are Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Thirty operators said they were busiest during the evening which traditionally

close at [illegible] p. m. and at [illegible] A. M. or as late as [illegible] A. M. Fifteen stores or [illegible] per cent close at [illegible] A. M. while [illegible] per cent close at [illegible] A. M. or later [illegible]. The remaining [illegible] are distributed throughout the continuum. [illegible] in [illegible] tend to stay open slightly longer than those in [illegible] day of question.

<u>Time of Heaviest Sales</u>

Since corner stores are open for extended periods of time it is possible for the convenience customer to select a time which is most convenient to him or her. Any [illegible] trips to corner stores are not usually planned and therefore one would expect the stores to be visited at all times of the day or night with no emphasis on the [illegible] when other stores are closed. This is not the case in Victoria. [illegible] are used primarily for convenience [illegible] of the [illegible]. This includes [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible]. These stores are, however, very busy mornings, from the [illegible] of [illegible], with the busiest time of the day. [illegible] of those twenty-three stores or [illegible] per cent of the total, stated the afternoon as the busiest part of the day. This is not surprising when one considers that the busiest days are Friday, Saturday and Sunday. [illegible] they [illegible] during the [illegible] [illegible]

is when corner shops are supposed to be busiest. The relative balance between afternoon and evening shopping at these establishments leads one to think there is nothing functionally very different about corner stores. With the trend to shorter opening hours and the significantly large amount of afternoon shopping, major differences between corner shops and larger enterprizes appear to be narrowing.

Other significant relationships in respect of shopping times became evident after the computer frequency table analysis was completed. Operators who quoted the evening as the busiest time of the day also tended to stay open later and those who indicated the afternoon as the busiest time, from the standpoint of sales, close earlier. Afternoons were considered the busiest time mostly by Canadians while Chinese generally found the evenings busier.

Just as one would expect corner stores would be busiest during that part of the day when larger stores are closed, it is logical to conclude that they would be busiest on the days when larger establishments are closed. This is true only to a limited extent. Because larger food stores are beginning to open seven days a week and because many of them are staying open during the evening the validity of this statement is significantly reduced. Also, assuming that most major food purchases are made near the end of the week, it should be expected that corner stores,

because of their convenience nature for holding families over, would be busier near the middle of the week. Except for some stores having a busy Sunday the opposite is true. Corner stores are busiest on Saturday. This is also the busiest day for chains. Thirty-six per cent said Saturday was their busiest day and 21 per cent quoted Sunday. Twenty-seven per cent were unwilling to commit themselves.

Canadians find Saturday the busiest day while Chinese lay claim to Sunday. There is a trend in Oak Bay to have Saturday as the busiest day which is in keeping with its busiest part of the afternoon and also the nationality difference between the municipalities and the City of Victoria. Chinese are busiest on Sundays and during evenings and Canadian and British owners are busier during the afternoon and on Saturday.

Type of People Served by Corner Shops

Since corner stores are located in older residential areas it is predominantly lower income groups which they serve. This applies particularly to the shops located on neighbourhood streets. Those located on arterials may be situated in closer proximity to newer areas.

One hundred thirty-four women and forty-three males filled in the residential questionnaire. Assuming the person who fills in the questionnaire does most of the grocery

shopping, women still dominate although 24 per cent for males is quite high. Approaching the same problem through the operator questionnaire, owners were not so sure about the dominance of women. Seventy-seven per cent said there was an equal number of both, 16 per cent said female and 7 per cent said males were the dominant shoppers. Unless the assumption made in the former case was false, it can be concluded that women still do most of the shopping but men are doing increasing amounts.

Also investigated was the degree of regularity with which customers patronize certain corner shops. Sixty-seven per cent of the operators described most of their customers as regular, 4 per cent said most were strangers and 27 per cent said there was an equal number of both. Since a large proportion of the stores are situated on arterials this must certainly bring into question their function. Ordinarily stores on arterials are considered to have a transient business but corner stores may be exceptions.

Canadians appeared to have slightly stronger ties with their customers than Chinese. Twenty of twenty-four Canadians said their customers were regular and four an equal number of both. None indicated a major proportion of their customers were strangers. On the other hand only fourteen of twenty-eight Chinese considered most of their

customers to be regular and ten said there was an equal number of both. Three Chinese said most of their customers were complete strangers. British operators also seemed to have closer ties with their customers than Chinese. If the trend toward Chinese ownership continues and there is every indication that it will, corner stores, although physically remaining small, will lose much of their personal nature. During the course of my interviews this was a common complaint among mothers who sent children to the store. Some went even further and said in many cases the Chinese operators were rude to them and their children. Although some small stores have lost customers because of this, most do not because their convenience nature outweighs other disadvantages.

Many operators became quite irate when asked if their store was used as a meeting place to exchange the latest gossip in the neighbourhood. Sixty per cent of the operators immediately said this never happened and whenever customers began doing it they were discouraged right away. In many cases the owners referred to the congregation of students in their stores as a problem. The remaining operators indicated the store was used as a meeting place at times but most indicated they were unhappy with the situation because the privilege was too often abused. They appeared afraid to do anything about it for

fear of losing business. Chinese operators appeared more concerned about their stores being used as gossip centres than other nationalities although most operators were concerned to some extent. This corresponds with previous statements about Chinese operators being less friendly.

The implications of this are not yet known nor will they be for a few years. With increasing Chinese ownership the outlook in this respect is not good for the corner store. On the other hand some people prefer an impersonal atmosphere for general shopping. The opinion of some was that a corner store should be large enough to enable a customer to make choices without comment from the proprietor. People are tired of having salesmen bother them in other types of stores.

Several other significant items appeared through the questionnaires. Stores with regular customers are busiest in the afternoon while those that have an equal number of regular and transient customers are busiest in the evening. More stores with regular customers close at 6:00 P. M. and most are closed by 9:00 P. M. Those with an equal number of both tend to stay open later. Also, those stores with regular customers tend to have more problems with gossipers. Proportionately, stores in Oak Bay and Saanich are more characterized by regular customers than those in Victoria where the number of regular and

transient customers are more equal.

Expenditure Patterns

Major grocery purchases are not usually made at corner stores. Forty-four per cent of the people surveyed make their major grocery purchases at Safeway while 31 per cent do most of their food shopping at a small or large food market. Eight per cent make their major grocery purchases at a department store - in Victoria it is mainly Woodward's who have gained a reputation throughout the Metropolitan Area for low prices and quality merchandise. The remainder were divided almost evenly between Shop-Easy, Super-Valu and Oakcrest.

To gain some insight into the amount of food purchased at places other than the main store the residential questionnaire contained a question to determine the proportion of the food bill spent at the location where the major purchases are made. Forty-seven per cent spent 76 per cent to 90 per cent of their food money at the store where their major purchases were made. Eighteen per cent spent 91 per cent to 95 per cent and 10 per cent spent 100 per cent. On the other hand 26 per cent spent less than 75 per cent of their major food bill there. This indicates that although some people spend almost all of their grocery money at one store there is still a considerable amount

left over which the small owner can acquire.

A majority of people who shop at Safeway spend 76 per cent to 90 per cent of their food bill there. Twenty-one of seventy-seven spend less than 75 per cent. This kind of relationship is also true of Shop-Easy, Super-Valu and Oakcrest. People who shop at department stores are more committed to them while small and large food markets resemble the chains. People who shop at food markets are more inclined to patronize corner stores more frequently while those who shop at department stores use corner shops less often. Safeway was the most popular store in all of the Census Tracts but the food markets were very popular in the two Enumeration Areas. Oakcrest achieved greatest popularity in Tract 2 and Shop-Easy in Tract 15. Department stores were most popular in Enumeration Area 81.

The reasons why people do not buy more at corner stores are varied although 69 per cent said it was because of high prices. Another 33 per cent felt either there was a lack of variety or to use them further would be an inconvenience. These things are almost inherent in a small store but their extent could be reduced if the operators were more efficient.

People who shop at food markets do not criticize corner stores as much as others. The conditions are more similar than corporate chain shopping as twenty-four of fifty-five did not consider there were any particular prob-

lems. Sixteen did feel they were too expensive.

The small store owner must be prepared to accept the fact that people are going to buy most of their groceries from a larger store. If he can gross fifty thousand to sixty thousand dollars per year then he should be satisfied. This was the opinion of several operators who recognized their situation and were prepared to accept it. There is little possibility of expanding such businesses without increasing the size of the store. One owner stated the neighbourhood around her store had grown considerably but her business volume had remained about the same.

Goods Sold in Corner Stores

Question nine of the operator questionnaire was intended to determine whether confectionery or convenience goods were the best sellers in corner stores. This was not conclusively determined although several significant facts were extracted from the analysis. Virtually equal numbers of owners stated each good. In addition 47 per cent said they were equally popular. Confectionery goods were particularly popular where the store was near a school or where there were large numbers of children living in the immediate neighbourhood. Chinese operators seemed to feel confectionery items were more popular although the trend

was not significantly established. On the other hand Canadian owners indicated popular food items were more frequently purchased. Confectionery and food goods, therefore, appear equally popular in most corner shops in Metropolitan Victoria.

Two basic differences in the types of goods sold do arise in a small minority of stores. A large proportion of goods sold in most Chinatown grocery stores (located primarily on Fisgard Street west of the C. B. D.) are Hong Kong imports. Consequently the stores are in a way specialty shops in the North American environment. This is what enables them to survive. But many old Chinese men still make their major purchases at the larger grocery stores or in department store food floors like Woodward's. Again, on the other hand, Chinese citizens come from all over Victoria to make purchases at these shops. A second variation is created in a few stores by the existence of snack bars. Indeed some shops are hardly large enough to walk around in but they contain coffee bars, in some cases for very personal reasons. The Little Inn, for example, a shop situated on Bay Street, near Shelbourne Street has recently installed such a facility. The owners at first stated they entered the corner store business simply because they had always wanted to. They installed the coffee bar for the same reason and stated very clearly they

were doing it more as a hobby than with the idea of making money.

Innovation in the type of food good and in packaging and distribution methods has also had its effect on the small shop. Canned pop, for example, influences the small store and the chain in different ways. Bottles bring business to a small store and are a nuisance to the larger store. Consequently, the small store is likely to lose business as a result of pop being distributed in cans.

The food retailing industry is also influenced by climatological variations and the ability of an area to produce its own food. Much of Metropolitan Victoria is agricultural (Figure 9) and as a result a great deal of fruit and vegetables are purchased at roadside stands during the summer. Physical factors such as these are felt by all general food stores rather than corner shops alone.

Credit

It has been established that most shopping trips to corner stores are for small quantities of convenience goods but there are some exceptions. In older working class areas a majority of the population spend considerably more than the previous implies at corner stores. They usually do so because the owner will offer them credit which they cannot get at larger food establishments.

Most owners shy away from it but some still operate their business on a credit basis. Only twelve owners offer extensive credit, forty-seven offer limited credit and fourteen none at all. Most of the operators had learned the hard way that credit at such a personal level (which is inherent in a small operation) is bad policy since many people left the neighbourhood without paying. This is related to their location in lower income working class areas where social problems are more prevalent. Some of those offering extensive credit admitted its hazardous nature but felt the benefits exceeded the disadvantages. Those offering limited credit to one or two families were frequently owners who had lost money through credit in the past and had reduced the amount offered but found it too difficult to cancel everyone's credit privileges. Most of the twelve offering no credit had been so frustrated by previous experience that they stopped it completely. Others had been warned of this kind of operation. Of those offering credit at present, the amount offered seems to vary directly with how well they had learned their lesson.

As is evidenced by question eight almost 90 per cent of the operators felt they could operate easily without offering credit. If this is so it is very strange that they do offer this service because of its hazardous nature and because of additional cost and trouble to the

operator. Seven per cent said they could not manage their store without credit. There is some contradiction here on the part of those who offer extensive credit. Presumably if extensive credit is offered the business could not operate without it. Seven operators did not feel this way. Those offering extensive credit are mainly elderly operators. It appears they are so entrenched in it they cannot get out. Those offering extensive credit also claim predominantly regular customers (eleven of twelve). Credit is dangerous business practice at the corner store level but its abolition completely would be just one more step in making the function of these small stores more like their larger counterparts.

Mobility

Corner stores depend on frequent visits by their customers because the value of purchases made on any one visit is small. Of the 177 questionnaires returned only four people stated they never made use of a corner store. Twenty-one indicated they used such a facility once a week, sixty-six said one or two times, fifty-four three or four times, fourteen four to six times and eight questionnaires revealed their authors visited a corner store eight or more times a week. Such frequent use indicates the stores are located very near the customers they serve.

Such stores also encourage poor shopping habits when the major purchase is made. If the shopper knows he can get something from the corner shop very easily then he or she is not going to worry about or take as much care in compiling their shopping list for their visit to the chain or large food market.

In spite of their frequent location on arterials and the increasing use of the automobile it appears that a majority of people still walk to the corner store. One hundred twenty-three people indicated they walk, five usually rode their bicycle and forty-five travelled by car. The convenience nature of their function is further indicated by travel time data. It also indicates the proximity of these stores to residential areas. One hundred fifty-eight of the people interviewed indicated it took them less than six minutes to get to their corner store while a further twelve took less than ten minutes. Only three took longer.

Persons who walk to corner stores go more regularly than those who travel by car. For example, all of the eight people who went at least eight times a week also walked. People who use a corner store facility regularly also tend to take a shorter amount of time to get there. Of the 123 who walk to corner stores sixty-six take one to three minutes and forty-five take four to six minutes.

Of the forty-five who travel by car twenty-five take one to three minutes and seventeen four to six minutes. Older people seldom use cars to get to the corner store. Rather they walk and on infrequent occasions use a bicycle. Younger people tend to do both. People tended to walk to corner stores in all study areas except Census Tract 15, where, although a large number walk, more use their car than in other areas. From a socio-economic standpoint this area is better than the other study areas.

Trade Areas

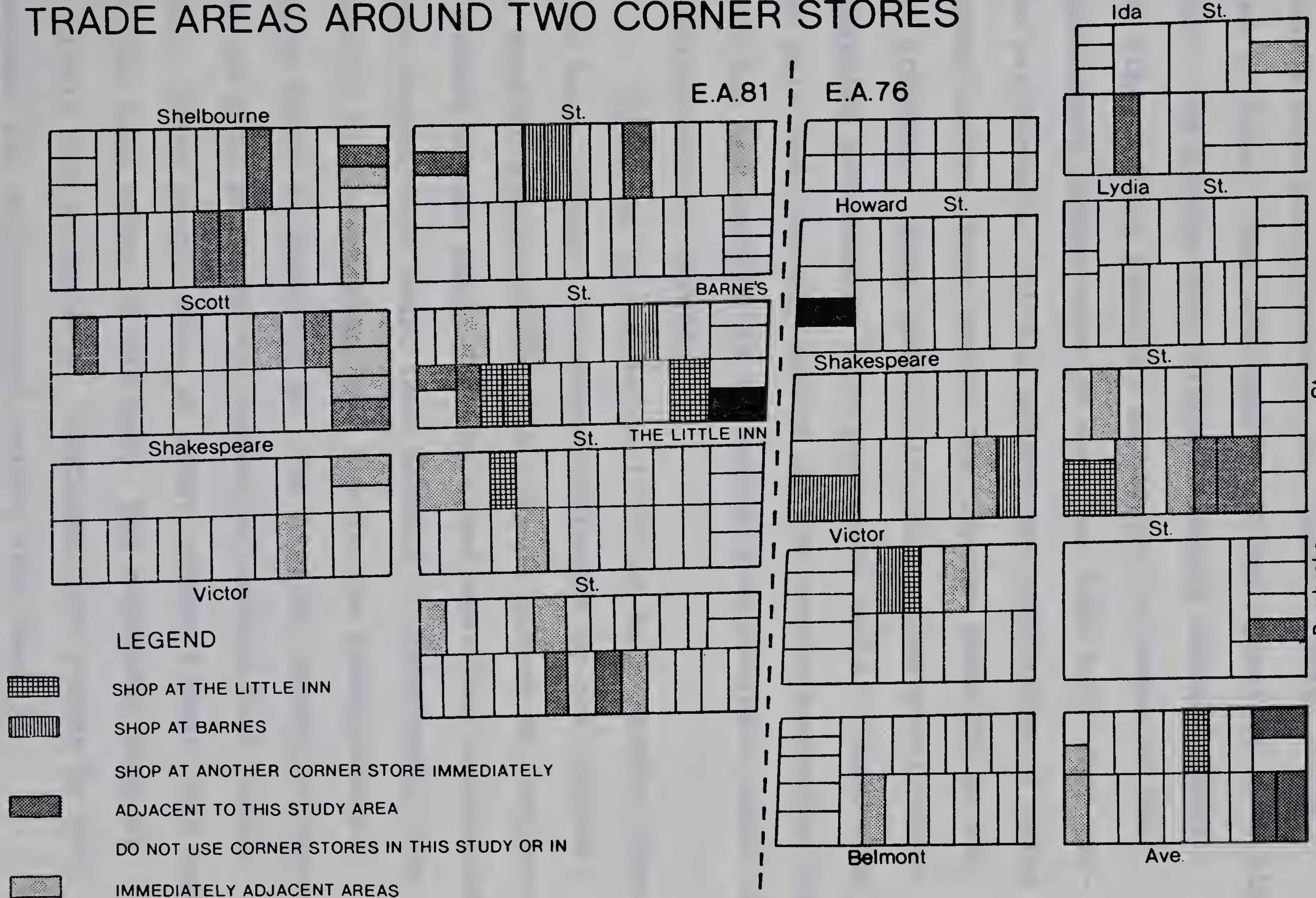
It is not the purpose of this section to outline in detail or to define the extent of corner shop trade areas. Although this would have been possible it was not considered necessary because after conducting the residential interviews it was possible to accept what has been commonly accepted in this regard - corner stores sell most of their goods to people living within a radius of a few blocks. This is true at least for the present but there were indications the trend is changing. For example, some stores situated on arterials are drawing customers from a wide area in the city. Their function on the arterial in the past has been contradictory to the accepted idea of predominantly transient business being found on such streets. This trend towards transient business has started

and is being encouraged unwittingly by the impersonal Chinese operator.

Because of the importance of trade areas they cannot be overlooked completely. For this reason The Little Inn and Barne's Owl Grocery have been selected for trade area analysis. The stores were not selected randomly but because they have been long time competitors regardless of ownership. As Figure 21 shows they are situated approximately one block from each other. Barne's has been operated by the same family for many years while The Little Inn was occupied by new owners in the spring of 1968 - they were the third occupants in a period of one year. Bay Street is a major arterial which separates Enumeration Area 76, in which The Little Inn is situated, from Barne's in Enumeration Area 81.

Although the successful interviews are not distributed evenly throughout the area the results would not differ significantly if they were. Figure 24 shows that Bay Street is not a deterrent to either of the store's business. People will cross the street if they prefer the store on the other side. This is true even though the sizes of the stores and types of goods for sale are the same. So far as prices are concerned the two stores are comparable although The Little Inn is open longer hours. Neither of the operators is Chinese. This would indicate

TRADE AREAS AROUND TWO CORNER STORES



Source: Fieldwork, Summer, 1968

Figure 21

something else must determine who goes to which store. Indeed it does. The personality of the operators is a big factor. The Little Inn, although having changed hands three times during 1967-68, maintains its share of the neighbourhood market because some say they will shop anywhere but Barne's. It has gained the reputation of being a gossip centre, many people feeling the owner to be the worst offender. Many people will not tolerate this kind of shopping environment on a permanent basis. This, combined with the friendly nature of the people operating The Little Inn has enabled it to maintain an adequate share of the neighbourhood market.

Problems in the reliability of data present themselves here. Those interviews indicated by the lightest grey tone in Figure 21 did not shop at either of the corner stores on the map. In some cases what they considered corner stores were small food markets - consequently the disparity in the results here and in the questionnaire results shown in Appendix B. The limited extent of trade areas is also shown by the number of medium tone interviews. These people shop at other corner stores just outside the area shown on the map. The remainder shop at The Little Inn or Barne's. Obviously the stores do not penetrate the neighbourhood market very deeply.

At a more general level the problem as to which

corner stores people use is also interesting. Although 108 said they did not use corner shops other than close to their home sixty-nine indicated they did. Presumably it is those stores situated on arterials which are attracting the latter business.

The function of corner stores is changing. Because cities are growing, what were once neighbourhood streets have become arterials resulting in a more transient type of patronage. Technology is enabling larger stores, which can be reached easily by car, to dominate the food business. The trend toward Chinese ownership is resulting in more impersonal shopping situations which already exist in chain stores. Such trends reinforce the idea that the only real difference between food stores is size and if this is the case certainly there is no need to maintain such small inefficient operations. It is only when corner stores have something more than food products to offer that they perform a real service in the community. Their place in the community and the social, economic and political factors involved will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

CORNER STORES IN THE COMMUNITY

Patronage and the willingness of people to manage corner stores have already been identified as major determinants of the future of corner shops. There are broader influences which have not yet been considered. They include the ability of corner shops to survive in a highly competitive business. Also, the influence of political change through zoning and the compatibility of corner shops with modern planning principles will have considerable influence in the future. This chapter is concerned primarily with an examination of these factors and with the ultimate effect of progress and change on corner stores. Much of the information was gleaned from people living in Victoria, from wholesalers and food store operators and from planning officials. Other statements are a result of my own personal observations after having completed extensive field work in the area.

COMPETITION

The Effect of Mobility and Distribution on Economic Efficiency

It is a well known fact that corner stores on

the whole are not economically efficient. In Victoria most of the stores are making money but profits could be greater. This lack of economic efficiency also stems from the geographical distribution described previously - namely a large number of stores situated too close together, and on sites which have become functionally obsolete. This lack of economic efficiency, however, goes much deeper and cannot be explained in terms of distribution alone. There is a conflict between economics and the historical pattern of retailing which has evolved. The development of the automobile made it possible for stores to locate some distance from their customers. Thus, competition from larger outlets, which the corner store operator fears more than his equal, is becoming much stronger.

The choice of stores which the housewife has is increased not only by an increased number of stores but also by her greater mobility, caused largely by the automobile. It naturally follows, therefore, that the number of trips made is reduced and that the amount paid per trip is increased. Because of these factors the small independent grocer is losing in volume.

Price Levels and Credit

The type of goods and method of selling them have important implications for economic efficiency through

price levels. The small grocer has no real advantages as a seller of food. He does not process his products like the baker or the butcher nor does he sell in large quantities like the supermarket. The corner grocery sells mostly branded articles - the supermarket may introduce its own brands and consequently is not restricted to one manufacturer. Standardized goods, on the other hand, may help the small grocer in that little skill or training is required to sell them. Inherently associated with the concept of branded articles are the prices of these and other articles in the corner store and its larger competitor. The operator charges just as much as the market will stand. Once the merchant establishes himself he can vary his prices. The range is from loss leads to prices just under the mark which the customer would consider it worthwhile to change retailers to save money. It is this resistance to change on the part of customers which determines price levels. Economists can argue about the factors which determine price policies, but the fact remains, that goods in a corner store cost slightly more than goods in a shopping centre. The housewife may complain about the higher cost but will not forego the convenience of a corner store to save a few pennies.

Some corner shops, as has been seen, offer credit and this is particularly important in working class areas.

Other centres may offer credit but it is of a different nature than that offered by the corner store. Here it is informal and very personal. It is risky in this situation but is accepted in many cases for social rather than economic reasons. The larger shops, however, can offer delivery service. Deliveries of weekly orders take place, but only within a reasonable distance because of cost. This tends to increase the service area.

Competition as Seen by Corner Store Operators in Victoria

Very few corner store operators in Victoria (seven) see other operators of comparable size as their chief competitor. Many were wary about answering the question but twenty-nine felt that larger food stores were their chief competitors. Eighteen said they did not have any competition. This is certainly an indication of a lack of awareness on the part of very small businessmen about modern business conditions. Many operators were also indecisive when asked about the effect of new planned shopping centres on their business. Obviously these are difficult questions - difficult because these factors are not easily measurable. However, I felt some assessment by the operator should have been possible partly because of the very personal nature of his business. Thirty-eight per cent of the operators said new shopping centres have had no effect on their

business. If this is true then it is indeed surprising. Eighteen owners said there was some effect and six said they had had a considerable effect. Twenty-one would not answer the question.

People quoting Saturday as their busiest day also said larger food stores were their main competitors. A similar situation exists for Sunday. Those people that say shopping centres have had no effect tend to close their stores earlier. It seems as people feel shopping centres have had more effect they tend to stay open later.

Competition at the Wholesale Level

Small grocery businesses are generally not too profitable to the wholesaler. Competition at the wholesale level tends to cause many small businesses to divide their business among wholesalers making it less profitable to the latter. The small retailer has a low volume and makes frequent orders. Some, as has been indicated, order every day. Small customers are often poor credit risks and frequently make payments slowly. The small man should use fewer wholesalers who would consequently have fewer but larger customers. The wholesaler would save money and both would save paperwork.

Competition in the Future

Competition in the future is likely to become

more important in Victoria but it is doubtful whether it will drive corner shops out of business. Volume does not appear to be declining in absolute terms and therefore if people are willing to operate on this basis the end for corner stores is a long way off. It may also be as Wingate (1965, p. 162) has suggested.

> The problem of the small retailer is not one of protection from his large competitors - it is protection from his own ignorance and inability. Retailing is not the last refuge of the incompetent. It is a highly competitive business requiring knowledge and high abilities for success.

PLANNING

Compatibility of Corner Stores With Modern Planning Principles

Planners may be going too far in creating a preconceived pattern since there is some desire to keep alive a spark of individuality in communities as long as it is not harmful to the public interest. However, representatives of both the Victoria and Saanich planning offices denied this was a problem within their spheres of influence. If anyone is at fault in Victoria it is the developer since planners do not have that much freedom of action. One must concur at present with this point of view since very little residential development in Victoria has taken place on the basis of neighbourhood principles. However, because neighbourhood planning appears to be on

the increase principles of residential development related to neighbourhood planning may have a strong negative effect on corner shops in the future. Perry (1939), a pioneer in neighbourhood planning, makes no provision for corner shops. It becomes a matter of policy though because Burns (1959) in Britain, among others, makes such provision.

Commercial land use policy in the Metropolitan Area makes neither a positive nor a negative case for corner shops. One can only assume the effect of existing policy on the development of corner shops. The continued presence of a strong core is felt to be desirable. It is hoped this will be maintained by preventing the flood of commercial development to continue along Douglas Street by instituting renewal schemes in the downtown. Saanich is attempting to divert most new commercial development to existing centres as well. These centralization policies appear to be having little effect on corner store development although they tend to discourage new growth in isolated and outlying areas. This means of course the limitation of corner store development.

Although the outlook for Victoria appears negative there are conflicting points of view held by well known authors. Carver (1962, p. 81) on the positive side stated the following:

> No satisfactory modern version of the corner store has yet appeared. Yet every new neighbourhood needs the kind of small shop that can be reached on foot and where the children can be sent on bicycle errands. Though the housewife fills her refrigerator by expeditions to the shopping centre, she is not infallible in her plans. Everyone would like a small store of this kind somewhere nearby, but no one is willing to have it next door with children hanging around, cars parked on the street, and trucks delivering supplies. It doesn't fit easily into a group of single-family houses. Probably the most workable arrangement is a combination of small stores and a group of small apartment buildings or row housing, the whole designed to conceal the service yard and parking space.

The above statement sums up the Victoria situation very well but the negative point of view has been well expressed by Jane Jacobs (1961, pp. 190-191).

> This corner grocery gimmick is a thin patronizing conception of city diversity, possibly suited to a village of the last century, but hardly to a vital city district of today. Lone little groceries, in fact, do badly in cities as a rule. They are typically a mark of stagnant and undiverse grey area . . . .
>
> Even the lone groceries if they were ever built, could hardly be the cozy enterprizes envisioned by their designers. To carry their high overhead, they must either be (a) subsidized - by whom and why? - or (b) converted into routinized, high-turnover mills.

Although limited numbers of these small stores are desirable in Victoria, the 'Jacobites' will probably win out in the end.

Zoning

Even though integrated neighbourhood planning is

not prominent in Victoria, stores are not being built into new residential subdivisions. Such development is taking place on arterials but none on neighbourhood streets. There is little reason in planning for other than a few corner stores but there is no reason for zoning them out of existence. In Victoria or Saanich if someone wanted to build a grocery store in an area not zoned for commercial use it might be possible. In Victoria in an exclusive area the people's feelings would likely be taken into account whereas in a more 'average' residential area such an establishment would be more feasible. Saanich said it would be possible but should be discouraged. When questioned as to whether they thought corner stores had a place in a predominantly residential area neither the Victoria nor the Saanich representatives would commit themselves. In addition neither office would say whether they felt corner shops were being zoned out of existence. Despite relatively stringent regulations regarding signs and junk around commercial facilities these two features pose the major problems for planners and others concerned with the aesthetic appearance of the community. Planners can assure that the shops of tomorrow do not suffer from this problem and therefore provide for the continued existence of a few of these stores.

PROGRESS AND CHANGE - ITS ULTIMATE EFFECT ON CORNER STORES

In the past there were no large supermarkets and stores were naturally much smaller. As the food store has grown in size it has come to be less personal and to sell a wider variety of goods. One must travel further but the automobile solves this problem to a point. So, in the past there was little alternative to the small store and now that an alternative has been provided the future of corner shops is seriously in question. In an attempt to compete they are becoming more like the large store and therefore the difference between them, as has been noted previously, is becoming only one of size.

Small shops have remained because in the past they performed functions which larger establishments could not. The function of these shops is changing with time and progress in the form of new ideas. Now, most corner shops in Victoria are not social centres. To be truly successful at this level an operator must show an interest in his customers and in the affairs and happenings of the neighbourhood. The talking that took place between customers as they were waiting to be served was very important to the successful operation of the corner store. In Britain stores function in this manner but in Victoria, despite its British links, they do not.

Although they still serve a limited sociological function in Victoria, more and more the economic and social functions are becoming incompatible. Efforts to maximize profits appear to be taking priority and this could very well put corner shops out of business. This is so because until now the corner store has been able to function as an economic unit largely because of sociological factors. Now the customer in a corner store must consider himself lucky if he receives a grunt of acknowledgment from the proprietor. In addition corner shops have not been handed down from generation to generation in Victoria. Therefore, not only are corner store customers becoming more mobile but so too are the owners of these shops.

To date most things point to the elimination of the corner store from society. That is everything but their convenience function. They have no real competitive advantage and the owners lack an awareness of modern business conditions. Many people, therefore, feel there is no need or place for them in our urban environment. Some, such as Carver (1962), do feel they have an important role to play in neighbourhood development. For those who think in this manner there is only one sign of hope. It is based on the idea that a complete cycle in retailing has taken place. For example, at the turn of the century the general store which sold almost everything was very

popular. Then an era of specialization was reached which is now being followed by a second era of generalization. This is evidenced by the discount stores which are selling many different items. If the cycle has been completed then perhaps a new corner store will emerge - the old general store. For the present we must be satisfied with a transition period and wait to see what evolves.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has traced the development of corner shops in Victoria from the founding of Fort Victoria in 1843 to 1968. The distribution of these stores was examined in detail in relation to the historical development of Victoria at four time periods. They were 1911, 1931, 1951 and 1968. For the latter period the stores were examined in relation to land use. Chapter two was concerned with the classification and distribution of all food stores in Metropolitan Victoria according to four categories: supermarkets, large food markets, small food markets and corner shops. Emphasis was placed on the latter for which a qualitative model was devised to account for twelve types of corner shop locations. The form of corner shops was then examined particularly with respect to how well the corner shop fits into the neighbourhood environment. This included mainly the opinion of neighbourhood residents but my own assessment was given as well. Following the discussion of form, function was analyzed in terms of the role of the store for the operator and for the public. Subsequent analysis in Chapter

five was more concerned with the place of corner shops in the community as a whole and the failure and successes of these stores in the light of progress and change.

The pattern of distribution of all food stores has shifted through time and is still changing. Soon after the turn of the century the distribution of food stores in Victoria was largely indicative of major growth areas. As the years passed this statement became less true as stores increased in size and the absolute increase in number began to decline. It is still declining as old stores are torn down by chain organizations and replaced by new larger facilities. The traditional shopping environment appears to have ended in Victoria about 1950 when chain stores began to construct such large outlets. The trend to decentralization of commercial facilities was also seen in Victoria. Whereas at the turn of the century most food stores were located near the C. B. D., they are now found in outlying areas in planned and unplanned shopping centres. The automobile played its role in providing greater mobility and enabling people to travel further to do their shopping. People are travelling greater distances today than they ever have before to purchase their groceries.

Four levels of food stores were defined in Victoria on the basis of total floor area. They are: supermarkets (more than ten thousand square feet), large food

markets (twenty-five hundred to ten thousand square feet), small food markets (one thousand to twenty-five hundred square feet) and corner shops having less than one thousand square feet. Supermarkets are mainly located at the junction of major arterials in planned medium range shopping centres. Large food markets are also oriented towards major arterials but it was found that as the size of the store declines so too does the likelihood that it will be located in a planned centre. Small food markets are widely dispersed but still oriented toward arterial development. Corner stores in the past were situated primarily on residential streets but through time this has changed. The location of the stores has not changed so much as the function of streets. Fewer shops are now found on neighbourhood streets in predominantly residential areas. Also, corner shops for the most part are now located in older working class areas.

Corner stores are located in very old buildings characterized by wood frame construction. It was found that the amount of storage space seemed to determine how cluttered the store was going to be. Corner shops are characterized by the attachment of residential quarters to retail facilities. Parking space is particularly lacking in the major built up areas and is more prevalent where corner shops are situated in outlying areas. Very

metres (twenty-five hundred to six thousand square feet). Small food markets (one thousand to twenty-five hundred square feet) also occur among smaller ones (less than one thousand square feet). Supermarkets are usually located at the junction of major arterials in planned [illegible] neigh-bourhood centres. Large food markets are also oriented towards major arterials [illegible] the size of the store decreases as one goes from [illegible] to [illegible] located in a planned centre. Small food markets are widely dispersed but [illegible] re-located. Corner stores in the past were situated primarily on residential streets but recently [illegible] changed. The location of the stores has not changed so much as the function of streets. Other stores are not found on neighbourhood streets in predominantly residential areas. Although stores [illegible] are now located in older shopping plaza areas.

Corner stores are located in very old buildings characterised by small [illegible]. It was found that the amount of storage space [illegible] displayed the store was going to be. Corner stores are characterised by the attachment of residential quarters to retail facilities. [illegible] locating in the major built up areas and [illegible] areas, corner stores are situated in [illegible] areas. [illegible]

few shops blend effectively with their environment but many could if a simple clean up campaign were instituted. Such stores tend to be characterized by excessive amounts of advertising with pop and cigarette companies being the worst offenders. People feel corner stores are a great attribute to their neighbourhood provided the facilities are not located next door to their own home. The extent to which an individual perceives a corner shop as a nuisance depends on his own values and shopping habits.

The major function of corner shops is to provide convenience goods for people living within a small radius of the store. While in the past older people were the main operators, now very young Chinese businessmen are moving in. They do not mind the long hours of work which are now appearing unsatisfactory to people of other nationalities. This is resulting in a rapid turnover of store ownership. Although a few people running the stores have had some previous experience, a great number are not suited to this type of occupation. Such stores in the past have maintained long hours but the recent trend is to shorten them while larger stores do the opposite. Corner stores also do most of their business when other food stores are busy - mainly on Friday and Saturday. The major exception is Sunday when many corner stores are busy while larger facilities are closed. Corner stores are also becoming more impersonal with the increasing Chinese

ownership. Volume appears to be remaining stagnant while neighbourhoods increase in population density.

There are too many corner stores situated too close together for many of them to make a profitable living. This, combined with a lack of skill on the part of the operator, contributes to a lack of economic efficiency. In the past this was balanced by a friendly atmosphere which is no longer present in the Victoria shops. Competition from other establishments is also contributing to the stagnation of corner shops. Combined with these factors is the lack of compatibility of corner shops with modern planning principles - particularly those concerned with residential development. In addition no provision has been made for them in new areas which are not even governed by neighbourhood planning principles.

Corner shops have remained stagnant for the past ten to fifteen years. New stores have not been constructed and very few existing shops have gone out of business. They are surviving on their convenience function and depending on people to forget things when they make their major food purchase. They are also dependent on a technology of the past and are not suited to one of the future. When it becomes possible to keep a loaf of bread or a quart of milk for longer periods of time and this certainly is not far away, then the corner shop will

suffer tremendously since their present existence depends on the sale of such convenience items. This, combined with almost a complete lack of any sociological function in these stores, and the apparent lack of concern about these factors by present operators, is contributing to their stagnation. And these factors combined with established trends such as increased store size and neighbourhood planning make the collapse of such establishments inevitable. Given that no new stores are being constructed and the likelihood of this taking place in the future being remote, corner shops will last only as long as the present buildings which contain them. Also to be considered is their location in older residential areas which may be the objective of renewal schemes. Multi-residential land use invasion may also hasten their downfall.

The elimination of the old and the inefficient is an inevitable aspect of the evolving city. Corner stores for the most part fall into this category. Although they are fading from the landscape it should not be concluded that this is desirable. This question is involved with one much larger in scope - in fact the whole direction of change in cities must be brought into question. We replace the old with the new in a form which many people are unhappy with. This certainly should not

be interpreted as an advocation of the status quo but it is a call for further examination of the change that is taking place in our cities and the effect it is having on people. Do we, for example, want a society dominated by large food establishments and if not should we not be doing something about preserving the 'corner shops' of our cities? The corner shop has become involved in this change and is only one example but there will continue to be more examples until we decide what we want, not what planners desire.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

OPERATOR QUESTIONNAIRE[1]

NAME____________________

ADDRESS____________________

		RESPONDENTS
1. In what year did you start operating this store?		
	(a) 1921-1930	2
	(b) 1931-1940	3
	(c) 1941-1950	7
	(d) 1951-1960	16
	(e) 1961-1965	12
	(f) Since 1965	43
	(g) Other	1
2. What made you decide to open a small grocery store?		
	(a) Previous experience in the business	19
	(b) Be your own boss	5
	(c) Thought it would be a good money maker	7
	(d) Wanted a change from past occupations	6
	(e) Had trouble getting other work	7
	(f) Other	29
3. How many people work in your store?		
	(a) 1	13
	(b) 2	34
	(c) 3	14
	(d) 4	6
	(e) 5	2
	(f) Other	4

[1]The total number of respondents is seventy-three.

APPENDIX A

OPERATOR QUESTIONNAIRE - Page 2

	RESPONDENTS
4. What is your nationality?	
(a) Canadian	24
(b) Chinese	28
(c) British	10
(d) Other	11
5. What is your age?	
(a) 21-30	5
(b) 31-40	17
(c) 41-50	15
(d) 51-60	22
(e) 61-70	13
(f) 71-80	1
6. Do you have any supplementary income?	
(a) A second job	17
(b) Pension	1
(c) Investment	3
(d) None	52
7. To what extent do you offer credit?	
(a) Extensively	12
(b) One or two families	47
(c) None	14
8. Could you operate this store if you did not offer credit?	
(a) Yes	65
(b) No	5
(c) Other	3

APPENDIX A

OPERATOR QUESTIONNAIRE - Page 3

		RESPONDENTS
9.	Which are your most popular commodities?	
	(a) Pop, candy, cigarettes, etc.	19
	(b) Milk, bread, etc.	18
	(c) Equal number of 'a' and 'b'	34
	(d) Other	2
10.	Are most of your customers	
	(a) Regular?	49
	(b) Strangers?	3
	(c) Equal number of both?	20
	(d) Other?	1
11.	How many square feet of selling space do you have?	
	(a) 200 or less	2
	(b) 201-300	3
	(c) 301-400	6
	(d) 401-500	14
	(e) 501-600	11
	(f) 601-700	10
	(g) 701-800	12
	(h) 801-1000	15
12.	On which day of the week do you do the most business?	
	(a) Monday	5
	(b) Tuesday	1
	(c) Wednesday	0
	(d) Thursday	1
	(e) Friday	5
	(f) Saturday	26
	(g) Sunday	15
	(h) Other	20

APPENDIX A

OPERATOR QUESTIONNAIRE - Page 4

		RESPONDENTS
13.	During which part of the day do you do most of your business?	
	(a) Morning	3
	(b) Afternoon	33
	(c) Night	30
	(d) Other	7
14.	What time in the morning do you open your store?	
	(a) 8:00 A.M.	11
	(b) 8:30 A.M.	11
	(c) 9:00 A.M.	34
	(d) 9:30 A.M.	3
	(e) 10:00 A.M.	9
	(f) Other	5
15.	What time do you close your store?	
	(a) 5:30 P.M.	1
	(b) 6:00 P.M.	16
	(c) 7:00 P.M.	4
	(d) 8:00 P.M.	8
	(e) 9:00 P.M.	18
	(f) 10:00 P.M.	19
	(g) 11:00 P.M.	5
	(h) 12:00 midnight	2
16.	Who is your biggest competitor?	
	(a) Large food stores	29
	(b) Other stores like your own	7
	(c) None	18
	(d) Other	19

APPENDIX A

OPERATOR QUESTIONNAIRE - Page 5

	RESPONDENTS
17. Have shopping centres had	
(a) No effect	28
(b) Some effect	18
(c) Considerable effect	6
(d) Other	21
on your business?	
18. How old is this building?	
(a) 1-10 years	1
(b) 11-20 years	7
(c) 21-30 years	8
(d) 31-40 years	15
(e) 41-50 years	12
(f) 51-60 years	11
(g) 61-70 years	8
(h) 71-80 years	9
(i) Other	2
19. Are most of your customers	
(a) Male?	4
(b) Female?	12
(c) Equal number of both?	56
(d) Other?	1
20. What was your job before you began operating this store?	
(a) Worked in or owned a cafe	9
(b) Worked in or owned a grocery store	20
(c) Labourer	19
(d) Other	25

APPENDIX A

OPERATOR QUESTIONNAIRE - Page 6

		RESPONDENTS
21.	Is this store	
	(a) Owned?	49
	(b) Leased?	7
	(c) Rented?	17
22.	Are your storage facilities adequate?	
	(a) Yes	60
	(b) No	13
23.	Do your customers use this store as a meeting place to exchange the latest gossip in the neighbourhood?	
	(a) Frequently	10
	(d) Seldom	17
	(c) Never	44
	(d) Other	2
24.	How long do you plan on running this store?	
	(a) Until the store can be sold	6
	(b) 0-3 years	10
	(c) 4-6 years	6.
	(d) Indefinitely	48
	(e) Other	3

OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

1.	Relationship between store and living quarters.	
	(a) Separate	9
	(b) Attached	63
	(c) Living quarters not present at store	1

APPENDIX A

OPERATOR QUESTIONNAIRE - Page 7

	RESPONDENTS
2. Parking space.	
(a) Parking lot	17
(b) Curb indentation	15
(c) Street space only	41
3. Advertising.	
(a) Excessive causing a cluttered appearance	19
(b) Effective	13
(c) Average	41
4. Exterior construction materials.	
(a) Wood	27
(b) Stucco	44
(c) Other	2
5. Degree of blend with surroundings.	
(a) Good	13
(b) Average	9
(c) Fair	28
(d) Poor	23

Comments:

APPENDIX B

RESIDENTIAL QUESTIONNAIRE[2]

ADDRESS ____________________
SEX ______________
AGE ________

	RESPONDENTS
1. Where do you buy most of your groceries?	
(a) Safeway	77
(b) Shop-Easy	11
(c) Super-Valu	10
(d) Oakcrest	10
(e) Department store	14
(f) Small to large food market	55
2. What proportion of your total grocery bill is spent there?	
(a) Less than 75%	46
(b) 76% - 90%	83
(c) 91% - 95%	31
(d) 96% - 100%	17

3. Which corner store do you use most often?

____

4. How often do you visit a corner store?	
(a) Never	4
(b) Less than once a week	21
(c) One or two times a week	76
(d) Three or four times a week	54
(e) Five to seven times a week	14
(f) Eight or more times a week	8

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[2] All questions are shown here but the number of respondents in each case is only given for the objective questions. The total number of interviews is 177.

APPENDIX B

RESIDENTIAL QUESTIONNAIRE - Page 2

		RESPONDENTS
5.	How do you travel to the corner store?	
	(a) Walk	123
	(b) Bicycle	5
	(c) Car	45
	(d) Do not use a corner store	4
6.	How long does it take you to get there?	
	(a) 1 - 3 minutes	95
	(b) 4 - 6 minutes	63
	(c) 7 - 10 minutes	12
	(d) More than 10 minutes	3
	(e) Do not use a corner store	4
7.	Do you make use of corner stores other than those close to your home?	
	(a) Yes	69
	(b) No	108
8.	Why do you not buy more at the corner store?	
	(a) Too expensive	69
	(b) Poor quality goods	9
	(c) Not convenient	29
	(d) Lack of variety	29
	(e) Other	41
9.	Do you feel that the corner store which you most frequently visit is an attribute to the neighbourhood in which it is situated?	
	(a) Yes	160
	(b) No	15
	(c) Other	2

APPENDIX B

RESIDENTIAL QUESTIONNAIRE - Page 3

RESPONDENTS

10. What would be your reaction if someone wanted to build a corner store next to your house?

(a)	Indifference	61
(b)	Anger	59
(c)	Pleased	12
(d)	Other	45

11. Is there anything you do not like about corner stores?

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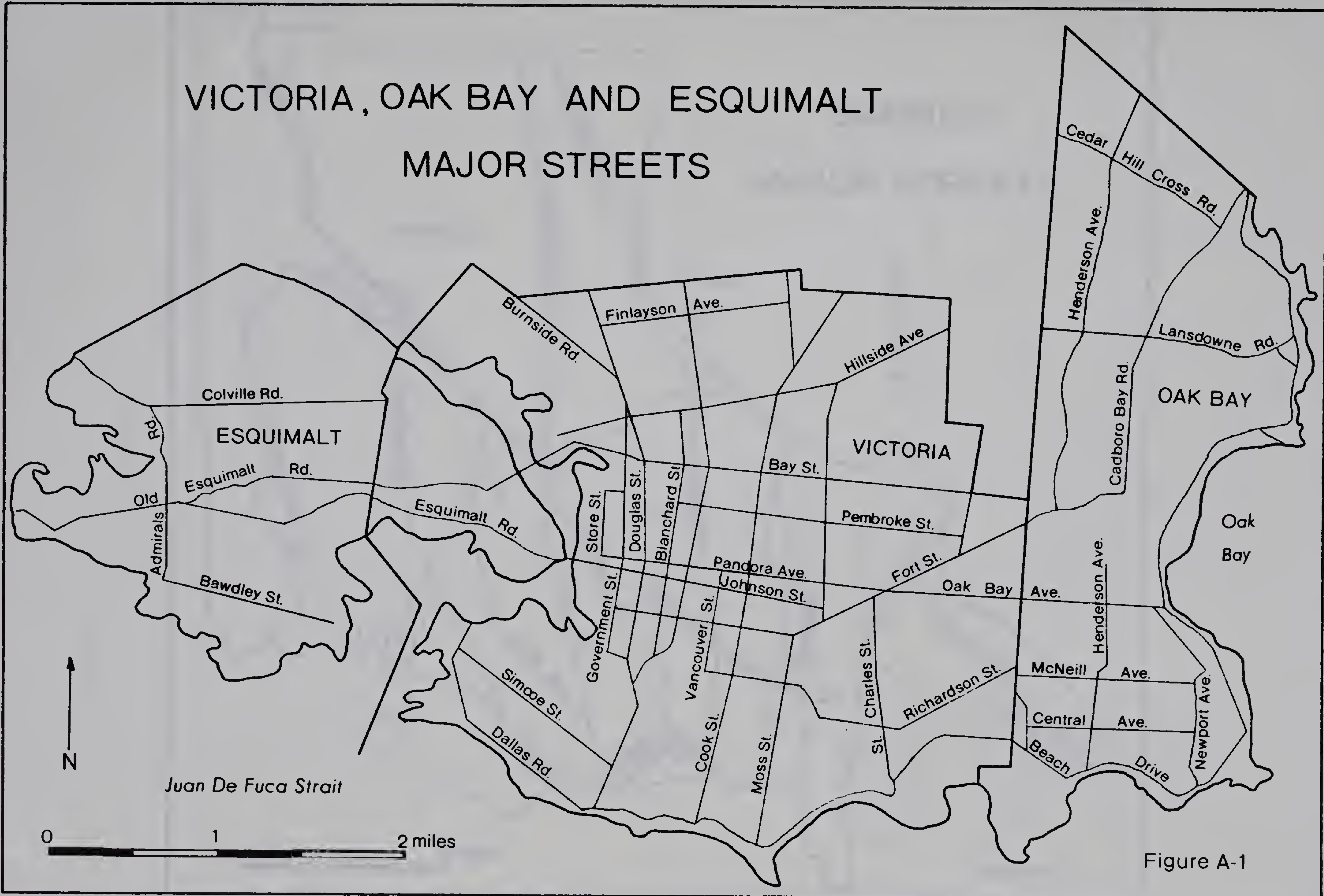
____

____

____

COMMENTS:

APPENDIX C


VICTORIA, OAK BAY AND ESQUIMALT
MAJOR STREETS
ESQUIMALT
VICTORIA
OAK BAY
Oak Bay
Colville Rd.
Rd.
Old Esquimalt Rd.
Admirals
Bawdley St.
Esquimalt Rd.
Burnside Rd.
Finlayson Ave.
Hillside Ave
Bay St.
Pembroke St.
Store St.
Douglas St.
Blanchard St.
Pandora Ave.
Johnson St.
Government St.
Vancouver St.
Cook St.
Moss St.
Fort St.
Oak Bay Ave.
St. Charles St.
Richardson St.
Simcoe St.
Dallas Rd.
Cedar Hill Cross Rd.
Henderson Ave.
Lansdowne Rd.
Cadboro Bay Rd.
McNeill Ave.
Central Ave.
Beach Drive
Newport Ave.
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Juan De Fuca Strait
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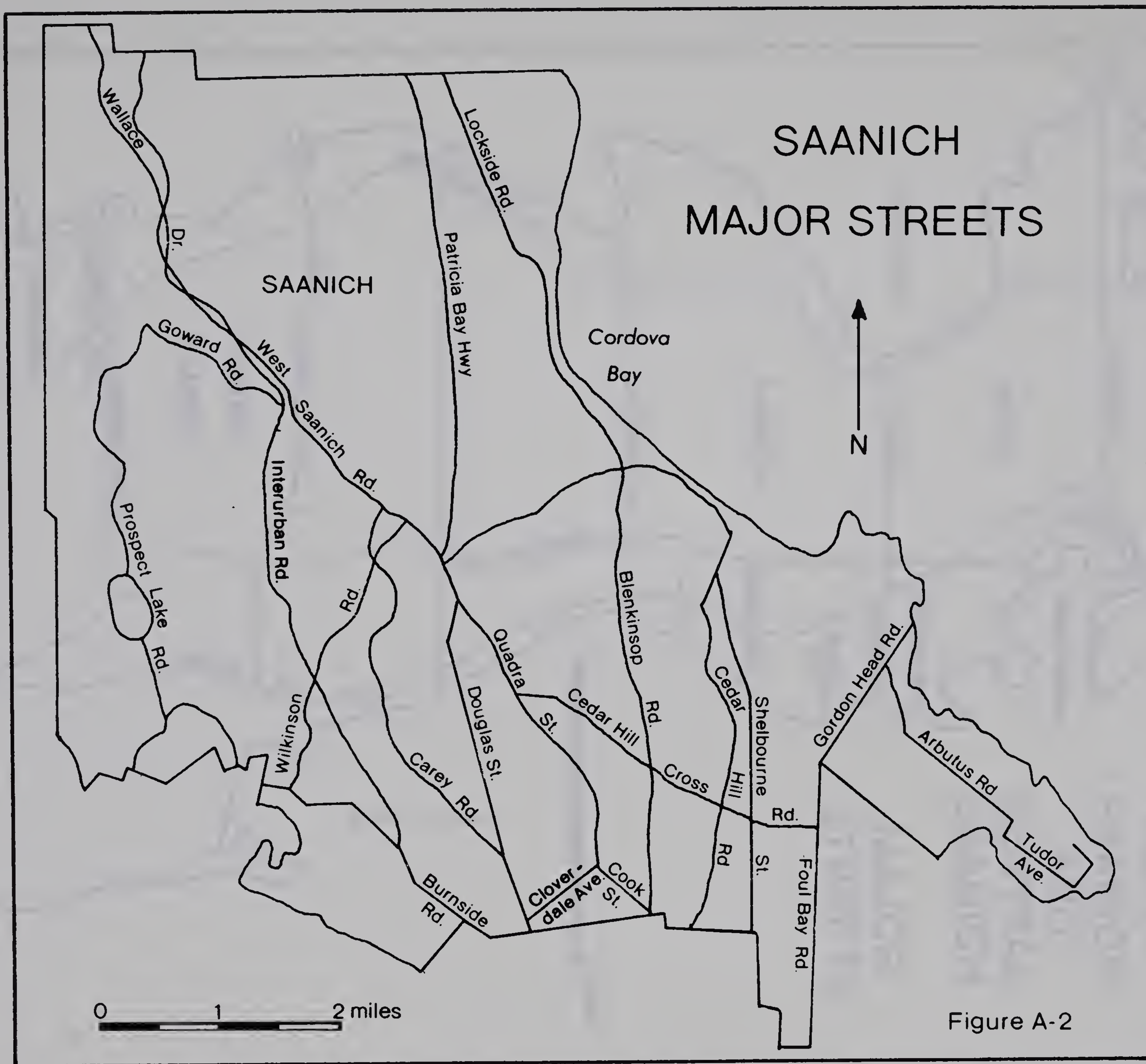
Figure A-1


SAANICH
MAJOR STREETS
N
SAANICH
Cordova
Bay
Wallace
Dr.
Lockside Rd.
Patricia Bay Hwy
Goward
Rd.
West
Saanich
Rd.
Interurban Rd.
Prospect
Lake
Rd.
Wilkinson
Rd.
Carey
Rd.
Douglas St.
Quadra
St.
Cedar Hill
Cross
Rd.
Blenkinsop
Rd.
Cedar
Hill
Rd
Shelbourne
St.
Gordon Head Rd.
Arbutus Rd
Tudor
Ave.
Foul Bay
Rd.
Burnside
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1
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Figure A-2

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